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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

VII

D59350... Dionysius, of Halicarnassus.
Eca Antiquitates

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
EARNEST CARY, PH.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
EDWARD SPELMAN

IN SEVEN VOLUMES
VII

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME VII

MSS. OF BOOK XI

The manuscripts used by Kiessling and Jacoby for Book XI are as follows :

L = Laurentianus Plut. LXX 5 (15th cent.).
V = Vaticanus 133 (15th cent.).
M = Ambrosianus A 159 sup. (15th cent.).
C = Coislinianus 150 (16th cent.).

The best of these four MSS. is L, which appears to be a faithful copy of a badly damaged original ; the scribe usually left gaps of appropriate length where he found the text illegible. Second best is V, which only occasionally shows interpolations ; yet this V is the manuscript that was designated as E for the first ten books and regarded there as virtually negligible. Much inferior, however, even to V are M and C (the same C as for earlier books), which show many unskilful attempts to correct the text, especially by way of filling lacunae ; see in particular chaps. 42 and 48-49.

All these MSS. derive from a poor archetype which, in addition to numerous shorter lacunae, had lost entire leaves at the end of Book XI, as well as earlier, and had some of the remaining leaves inserted out of place. See the note on chap. 44, 5 ; also vol. i. p. xli, n. 1, at end.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOKS XII-XX

Approximately one-half of these excerpts come from the imposing collection made by order of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the tenth century, from classical and later historians. The excerpts were classified under various heads, and a few of these sections have been preserved, some in but a single manuscript. The sections containing excerpts from Dionysius and the abbreviations used in citing them are as follows :

Ursin.—Περὶ πρεσβειῶν (*De legationibus*), contained in several MSS. ; see the list on p. x. First published by Ursinus, 1582 ; critical edition by C. de Boor, Berlin, 1903.

Vales.—Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας (*De virtutibus et vitiis*), preserved in the Codex Peirescianus (now Turonensis 980). Published by Valesius, 1634 ; critical edition by A. G. Roos, Berlin, 1910.

Esc.—Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν (*De insidiis*), preserved in a single manuscript in the Escurial (Scorialensis Ω I 11). Edited by Feder, 1848 and 1849, and by C. Müller in his *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, vol. ii., 1848. In numerous instances the same emendation was made independently, it would seem, by both these scholars ; such corrections are indicated by the abbreviation Edd. Critical edition by C. de Boor, Berlin, 1905.

Ath.—Περὶ πολιορκιῶν, a few chapters from Book XX, contained in an early manuscript found on Mt. Athos, but now in Paris. Edited by C. Müller at the end of vol. ii. of his *Josephus*, Paris, 1847, and later by C. Wescher in his *Poliorcétique des Grecs*, Paris, 1868.

Another important source is :

Ambr.—A collection of miscellaneous excerpts, in chronological order, contained in a Milan manuscript (Ambrosianus Q 13 sup.), of the fifteenth century ; also in a second manuscript (A 80 sup.), which is a copy of the other and therefore rarely cited. This collection was carelessly edited by Angelo Mai in 1816. The numerous emendations of Struve mentioned in the critical notes were entered by that scholar in his copy of the Frankfort edition, now preserved in Munich.

Each new collection of excerpts, once discovered and published together with a Latin translation, has been included in the subsequent editions of the *Antiquities*.

The order in which the excerpts are here printed is that of Kiessling, followed by Jacoby, and is based on that of the Ambrosian collection. In a few cases the correctness of that order is open to serious question. Stephanus of Byzantium, by citing the particular books of the *Antiquities* in which he found the various places and peoples mentioned (see at end of Books XIII, XV–XIX), enables us to assign nearly all the excerpts to their proper books ; but his references to Books XVII and XVIII are confused and leave it doubtful where the line of division came.

The present translation of the excerpts is the first to appear in English. Spelman did not translate the few that had been published in his day.

SIGLA

BOOK XI

L = Laurentianus Plut. LXX 5.
V = Vaticanus 133.
M = Ambrosianus A 159 sup.
C = Coislinianus 150.

EXCERPTS, BOOKS XII-XX

Ursin.
E = Scorialenses R III 14 and R III 21.
V = Vaticanus Graecus 1418.
R = Parisinus Graecus 2463.
B = Bruxellensis 11301-16.
M = Monacensis 267.
P = Palatinus Vaticanus Graecus 113.
O = All the MSS.
X = BMP.
Z = All the MSS. not otherwise cited.

Vales.
P = Peirescianus, now Turonensis.

Esc.
S = Scorialensis Ω I 11.
Edd. = Müller and Feder.

Ath.
A = Early MS. from Mt. Athos, now in Paris.

Ambr.
Q = Ambrosianus Q 13 sup.
A = Ambrosianus A 80 sup.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ

I. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα[1] Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φιλίσκου καταλύουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληθεῖσαν. ὃν δὲ τρόπον ἐπεχείρησαν ἐρριζωμένην ἤδη τὴν δυναστείαν ἐξελεῖν, καὶ τίνων ἀνδρῶν ἡγησαμένων τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ διὰ ποίας αἰτίας καὶ προφάσεις, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν πειράσομαι διελθεῖν, ἀναγκαίας ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι καὶ καλὰς τὰς τοιαύτας μαθήσεις ἅπασι μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δ' ὅσοι περὶ τὴν φιλόσοφον θεωρίαν καὶ περὶ τὰς
2 πολιτικὰς διατρίβουσι πράξεις. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς οὐκ ἀπαρκεῖ τοῦτο μόνον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον—ἵν' ἐπὶ τούτου ποιήσωμαι τὸν λόγον—ἐνίκησαν Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δυσὶ ναυμαχίαις καὶ πεζο-

For the list of MSS. containing Book XI see the Introduction to this volume.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

BOOK XI

I. In the eighty-third Olympiad [1] (the one at which Criso of Himera gained the prize [2]), Philiscus being archon at Athens, the Romans abolished the decemvirate which had governed the commonwealth for three years. I shall now endeavour to relate from the beginning in what manner they attempted to do away with this domination which was already deeply rooted, who the leaders were in the cause of liberty, and what their motives and pretexts were. For I assume that such information is necessary and an excellent thing for almost everyone, but particularly for those who are employed either in philosophical speculation or in the administration of public affairs. For most people are not satisfied with learning this alone from history, that the Persian War, to take that as an example, was won by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, who in two battles

[1] 447 B.C. [2] In the short-distance foot-race.

[1] *ἐνίκα* LV : *ἐνίκα στάδιον* Jacoby (*cf.* iii. 36, n.).

μαχίᾳ μιᾷ καταγωνισάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον τριακοσίας ἄγοντα μυριάδας αὐτοὶ σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις οὐ πλείους ὄντες ἕνδεκα μυριάδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς αἱ πράξεις ἐγένοντο βούλονται παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας μαθεῖν, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι δι' ἃς τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ παράδοξα ἔργα ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόνες τῶν τε βαρβαρικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστορῆσαι, καὶ μηδενὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνήκοοι γενέσθαι τῶν
3 συντελεσθέντων περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ἥδεται γὰρ ἡ διάνοια παντὸς ἀνθρώπου χειραγωγουμένη διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκούουσα τῶν λεγομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὁρῶσα. οὐδέ γ', ὅταν πολιτικὰς ἀκούσωσι πράξεις, ἀρκοῦνται τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πέρας τῶν πραγμάτων μαθόντες, ὅτι συνεχώρησαν Ἀθηναῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τείχη τε καθελεῖν τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ ναῦς διατεμεῖν καὶ φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἰσαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου δημοκρατίας ὀλιγαρχίαν τῶν κοινῶν ἀποδεῖξαι κυρίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶνα ἀράμενοι, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τίνες ἦσαν αἱ κατασχοῦσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀνάγκαι δι' ἃς ταῦτα τὰ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ὑπέμεινε, καὶ τίνες οἱ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς λόγοι καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων ῥηθέντες ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα παρηκο-
4 λούθει[1] τοῖς πράγμασι διδαχθῆναι. τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἐν[2] οἷς ἔγωγε τίθεμαι καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὅσοι μὴ λόγων ἀλλ' ἔργων καλῶν ἄσκησιν ἡγοῦνται τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὸ μὲν ἥδεσθαι τῇ παντελεῖ θεωρίᾳ τῶν παρακολουθούντων τοῖς

[1] Cary : παρακολουθεῖ O. Jacoby.
[2] ἐν V : om. LM.

at sea and one on land overcame the barbarian at the head of three million troops, though their own forces together with their allies did not exceed one hundred and ten thousand ; but they wish also to learn from history of the places where those actions occurred, to hear of the causes that enabled those men to perform their wonderful and astonishing exploits, to know who were the commanders of the armies, both Greek and barbarian, and to be left ignorant of not a single incident, one may say, that happened in those engagements. For the minds of all men take delight in being conducted through words to deeds and not only in hearing what is related but also in beholding what is done. Nor, indeed, when they hear of political events, are they satisfied with learning the bare summary and outcome of the events, as, for instance, that the Athenians agreed with the Lacedaemonians to demolish the walls of their city, to break up their fleet, to introduce a garrison into their citadel, and, instead of their traditional democracy, to set up an oligarchy to govern the state, and permitted all this without so much as fighting a battle with them ; but they at once demand to be informed also of the necessity which reduced the Athenians to submit to such dire and cruel calamities, what the arguments were that persuaded them, and by what men those arguments were urged, and to be informed of all the circumstances that attended those events. Men who are engaged in the conduct of civil affairs, among whom I for my part include also those philosophers who regard philosophy as consisting in the practice of fine actions rather than of fine words, have this in common with the rest of mankind, that they take pleasure in a comprehensive survey of all

πράγμασι κοινὸν ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει· χωρὶς δὲ τῆς ἡδονῆς περιγίγνεται τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους καιροὺς μεγάλα τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας ὠφελεῖν καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὰς
5 ἑκούσας ἐπὶ τὰ συμφέροντα διὰ τοῦ λόγου. ῥᾷστα γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τά τε ὠφελοῦντα καὶ βλάπτοντα καταμανθάνουσιν ὅταν ἐπὶ παραδειγμάτων ταῦτα[1] πολλῶν ὁρῶσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῦτα παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς φρόνησιν μαρτυροῦσι καὶ πολλὴν σοφίαν. διὰ ταύτας δή μοι τὰς αἰτίας ἔδοξεν ἅπαντα ἀκριβῶς διελθεῖν τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅσα δὴ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν ἄξια
6 ἡγοῦμαι. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων ἀρξάμενος, ἃ δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἴτια γενέσθαι μόνα τῆς ἐλευθερίας, λέγω δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν παρθένον ἁμαρτηθέντων Ἀππίῳ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα (προσθήκη γὰρ αὕτη γε καὶ τελευταία τῆς ὀργῆς τῶν δημοτῶν αἰτία μυρίων ἄλλων προηγησαμένων), ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἤρξατο πρῶτον ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τῆς δεκαδαρχίας[2] ὑβρίζεσθαι. ταῦτα πρῶτον ἐρῶ καὶ διέξειμι πάσας ἐφεξῆς τὰς ἐν τῇ τότε καταστάσει γενηθείσας παρανομίας.

II. Πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἦν[3] ἡ[4] δόξασα γενέσθαι τοῦ κατὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μίσους πρόφασις ὅτι συνύφηναν τὴν δευτέραν ἀρχὴν τῇ προτέρᾳ[5] δήμου τε ὑπεριδόντες καὶ βουλῆς καταφρονήσαντες· ἔπειθ'

[1] παραδειγμάτων ταῦτα LV : παραδείγματα τοιαῦτα M (in marg. ταυτά).
[2] Kiessling : δεκαρχίας O (and so in later chapters).
[3] ἦν V : om. R.
[4] ἡ added by Reiske ; Ambrosch proposed to read ἔδοξε for δόξασα.
[5] τὴν τρίτην ἀρχὴν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Reiske.

the circumstances that accompany events. And, besides their pleasure, they have this advantage, that in difficult times they render great service to their countries as the result of the experience thus acquired and lead them as willing followers to that which is to their advantage, through the power of persuasion. For men most easily recognize the policies which either benefit or injure them when they perceive these illustrated by many examples; and those who advise them to make use of these are credited by them with prudence and great wisdom. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I have determined to report in accurate detail all the circumstances which attended the overthrow of the oligarchy,[1] in so far as I consider them worthy of notice. I shall begin my account of them, however, not with the final incidents, which most people regard as the sole cause of the re-establishment of liberty,—I mean the wrongs committed by Appius with regard to the maiden because of his passion for her,—since these were merely an aggravation and a final cause for the resentment of the plebeians, following countless others, but I shall begin with the first insults the citizens suffered at the hands of the decemvirate. These I shall mention first, and then relate in order all the lawless deeds committed under that régime.

II. The first ground for the hatred against the oligarchy seems to have been this, that its members had joined their second term of office immediately to their first, thus showing alike their scorn of the people and their contempt of the senate. Another

[1] In Book XI Dionysius regularly uses "oligarchy" as one term for "decemvirate" and "oligarchs" for "decemvirs."

ὅτι τοὺς χαριεστάτους Ῥωμαίων, οἷς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἦν, οὓς μὲν ἐξήλαυνον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἰτίας ἐπιφέροντες ψευδεῖς καὶ δεινάς, οὓς δὲ ἀπεκτίννυσαν, κατηγόρους τε αὐτοῖς ὑποπέμποντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἑταίρων καὶ τὰς δίκας ταύτας αὐτοὶ δικάζοντες· μάλιστα δ' ὅτι τοῖς θρασυτάτοις τῶν νέων οὓς εἶχον ἕκαστοι περὶ αὑτοὺς ἐφῆκαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν τὰ
2 τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τῇ πολιτείᾳ. οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἁλούσης πολέμῳ κατὰ κράτος τῆς πατρίδος οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον ἁρπηροῦντο τοὺς νόμῳ κτησαμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς γαμετὰς αὐτῶν τὰς εὐμόρφους παρενόμουν[1] καὶ εἰς θυγατέρας ἐπιγάμους καθύβριζον καὶ πληγὰς τοῖς ἀγανακτοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδοις ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ παρεσκεύασαν, ὅσοις ἀφόρητα εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα ἐδόκει, καταλιπόντας τὴν πατρίδα γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς τὰς πλησίον ἐξοικίζεσθαι πόλεις, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτοὺς Λατίνων μὲν διὰ τὸ ὁμοεθνές,[2] Ἑρνίκων δὲ διὰ τὴν ἔναγχος γενομένην[3] αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἰσοπολιτείαν. ὥσθ', ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, τελευτῶντες αὐτοὶ κατελείφθησαν οἱ φιλοτύραννοι καὶ οἷς
3 μηδεμία τῶν κοινῶν φροντὶς ἦν. οὔτε γὰρ οἵ γε[4] πατρίκιοι διέμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει, θωπεύειν μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἀδυνατοῦντες, οὔθ'[5] οἱ καταγραφέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτικὸν συνέδριον, οὓς ἐπάναγκες ἔδει παρεῖναι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους ἀνασκευασάμενοι πανοικεσίᾳ καὶ τὰς

[1] Cobet : *παρηνόμουν* O.
[2] *ὁμοεθνές* Post : *εὐσθενὲς* or *ἀσθενὲς* L, *ἀσθενὲς* R ; *συγγενές* Sylburg.
[3] *δεδομένην* Sylburg.

was their treatment of the most reputable Romans who were dissatisfied with their actions, some of whom, on the strength of false and heinous accusations, they were expelling from the city and others they were putting to death, suborning some of their own faction to accuse them and themselves trying these cases. But more than anything else was the licence they gave to the most audacious of the young men by whom each of them was always attended, to plunder and pillage the goods of those who opposed their administration. These youths, as if the country had been taken by force of arms, not only stripped the legal owners of their effects, but even violated their wives, when these were beautiful, abused such of their daughters as were marriageable, and when any showed resentment, they beat them like slaves. Thus they brought it about that those who found these proceedings intolerable left their country along with their wives and children and removed to the neighbouring cities, where they were received by the Latins on account of their affinity and by the Hernicans in acknowledgement of the right of citizenship lately granted to them by the Romans. Consequently, as was to be expected, there were in the end none left behind but the friends of tyranny and such as had no concern for the public good. For neither the patricians, who were unwilling to flatter the rulers and yet were unable to oppose their actions, remained in the city, nor did those enrolled in the senate, whose presence was absolutely necessary to the magistrates ; but the greater part of these also had removed with their entire families and,

[4] Kiessling : τε O. [5] Reiske : οὐδ' O.

οἰκίας ἐρήμους ἀφέντες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διέτριβον.
4 τοῖς δὲ ὀλιγαρχικοῖς καθ' ἡδονὴν αἱ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἐγίνοντο φυγαὶ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἕνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀκολάστοις τῶν νέων πολὺ τὸ αὔθαδες προσεγίνετο μηδ' ὄψει δυναμένοις ἰδεῖν οὓς ἔμελλον ἀσελγές τι[1] πράττοντες αἰσχύνεσθαι.

III. Ἐρημουμένης δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος ἔθνους[2] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἅπαν ἀπολωλεκυίας ἀφορμὴν κρατίστην ὑπολαβόντες ἔχειν οἱ[3] πολέμῳ κρατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς τάς τε ὕβρεις ἃς ὑβρίσθησαν ἀποτίσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἀπολωλότα ἀναλαβεῖν, ὡς νοσούσης διὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὔτε συστῆναι οὔθ' ὁμονοῆσαι οὔτ' ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῶν κοινῶν ἔτι δυνησομένης, παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλαύνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν στρατεύ-
2 μασι μεγάλοις. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Σαβῖνοι μὲν[4] ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ὁμοτέρμονα καὶ πολλῆς γενόμενοι λείας ἐγκρατεῖς φόνον τε πολὺν ἐργασάμενοι τοῦ γεωργικοῦ πλήθους ἐν Ἠρήτῳ[5] κατεστρατοπέδευσαν (διέστηκε δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡ πόλις αὕτη τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους
3 πλησίον οὖσα Τεβέριος[6] ποταμοῦ), Αἰκανοὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Τυσκλανῶν γῆν ἐμβαλόντες ὅμορον οὖσαν σφίσι καὶ πολλὰ δῃώσαντες αὐτῆς ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ πόλει τίθενται τὸν χάρακα. ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν οἱ δέκα τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον, τεταραγμένοι συνεκά-

[1] *ἀσελγές τι* Kiessling : *ἀσελγέσι* LV.
[2] *ἔθνους* LV : *μέρους* M.
[3] *ἔχειν οἱ* Kiessling : *ἐκεῖνοι οἱ* O, Jacoby, *Αἰκανοὶ* Casaubon.
[4] *μὲν* added by Cobet.
[5] Ἠρήτῳ Sylburg : *ῥηγῷ* MV, *ῥητῷ* L.
[6] *τιβέρεως* O.

assumed the power of that magistracy also and exercise dominion over the commonwealth. I am not unaware, to be sure, that I do this in vain, but I desire to make your conspiracy manifest to all and show that you have thrown the affairs of the commonwealth into confusion and that you all have the same purpose. Rather, I call upon you alone, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, you who have been honoured with those three consulships, in case you still preserve the same sentiments. Rise up, therefore, and relieve the oppressed ; for the eyes of the senate are fixed upon you."

V. When Valerius had spoken thus, Fabius sat still through shame and made no answer ; but Appius and all the other decemvirs, leaping up, sought to hinder Valerius from going on. Upon this, a great tumult filled the senate-chamber, the greater part of the senators expressing their resentment, while those who belonged to the decemvirs' faction justified what they said. Then Marcus Horatius, surnamed Barbatus, a descendant of that Horatius who had been consul with Publius Valerius Publicola after the expulsion of the kings, rose up, a man of great ability in warfare and not lacking in eloquence, and long a friend to Valerius. This man, unable longer to contain his resentment, said[1] : " You decemvirs will very soon force me, Appius, to break through all restraint by your want of moderation and by acting the part of the haughty Tarquin,—you who do not even grant a hearing to those who desire to speak in the interest of the safety of the common-

[1] For Horatius' speech *cf.* Livy iii. 39, 3-10.

βουλομένους[1] λέγειν. πότερον ὑμῶν ἐξελήλυθεν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας ὅτι σώζονται μὲν οἱ Οὐαλερίων ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἐξελασάντων τὴν τυραννίδα, λείπεται δὲ διαδοχὴ[2] τῆς Ὁρατίων οἰκίας, οἷς πάτριόν ἐστιν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς καταδουλουμένοις τὴν
3 πατρίδα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μόνοις; ἢ τοσαύτην κατεγνώκατε καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἀνανδρίαν ὥστ' ἀγαπήσειν ἐάν τις ἐᾷ ζῆν ἡμᾶς ὁπωσδήποτε, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας δὲ καὶ παρρησίας μήτ' ἐρεῖν μήτε πράξειν[3] μηθέν; ἢ μεθύετε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἐξουσίας; ὑμεῖς Οὐαλερίου λόγον ἀφελεῖσθε[4] ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς βουλευτῶν τίνες ὄντες ἢ ποίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες νόμιμον; οὐκ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείχθητε τῶν κοινῶν προστάται; οὐ παρῴχηκεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν χρόνος; οὐκ ἰδιῶται τῷ νόμῳ γεγόνατε; ταῦτ' εἰς τὸν
4 δῆμον βουλεύεσθε ἐξενεγκεῖν. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ κωλῦον ἔσται τὸν βουλόμενον ἡμῶν[5] τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συγκαλεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν, ἣν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔχετε, κατηγορεῖν; ἀνάδοτε τοῖς πολίταις ψῆφον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου, πότερα δεῖ μένειν τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ὑμῶν ἢ τὰς πατρίους πάλιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀρχάς· κἂν τοῦτο[6] μανεὶς ὁ δῆμος ὑπομείνῃ,[7] πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν κατάστασιν ἔχετε καὶ[8] κωλύετε λέγειν ὁπόσα βούλεταί τις[9] ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.[10] ἄξιοι γὰρ ἂν εἴημεν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἔτι χείρονα τούτων πάσχειν ἐφ' ὑμῖν γενόμενοι καὶ

[1] βουλομένους M : βουλευομένους LV.
[2] δ' ἡ διαδοχὴ Kiessling.
[3] πράξειν Sylburg : πράσσειν O, δράσειν Reiske.
[4] Casaubon : ἀφείλεσθε O. [5] βουλευόμενον ὑμῶν L.
[6] κἂν τοῦτο Kiessling : om. L in lacuna of 10 letters, καὶ εἰ τοῦτο R. [7] ὑπομείνῃ LV : ὑπομένειν C, ὑπομείνει M.

wealth. Has it slipped your minds that there still survive the descendants of that Valerius who banished the tyranny and that there are left successors of the house of the Horatii in whom it is hereditary to oppose, both with others and alone, those who would enslave their country? Or have you decided that both we and the rest of the Romans have so mean a spirit that we shall be content to be permitted to enjoy life on any terms whatever and will neither say nor do anything in favour of liberty and freedom of speech? Or are you intoxicated with the greatness of your power? Who are you men, or what legal magistracy do you hold, that you are going to deprive Valerius or any other senator of the privilege of speaking? Were you not appointed leaders of the commonwealth for a year? Has not the term of your magistracy expired? Have you not become private citizens by law? Plan to lay these matters before the people. For what is going to hinder any of us from assembling them and from challenging the authority which you are exercising contrary to the laws? Permit the citizens to vote upon this very point, whether your decemvirate shall continue or the traditional magistracies be re-established; and if the people are so mad as to submit to the former course, then enjoy once more the same régime and prevent anyone from saying what he wishes in defence of his country. For we should deserve to suffer not only this but even a worse fate if we let ourselves get into your power and sullied by a

[8] καὶ R : om. L in lacuna of 5 letters.
[9] λέγειν ὁ. β. τις L : ὁ. β. τις λέγειν R.
[10] After πατρίδος L has a lacuna of 15 letters; the other MSS. supply καὶ εἰ δίκαια ταῦτα δόξωσιν.

ὑπαίνοντες αἰσχρῷ βίῳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀρετάς."

VI. Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἱ δέκα περιίστανται κεκραγότες καὶ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐπανασείοντες ἐξουσίαν καὶ ῥίψειν αὐτὸν ἀπειλοῦντες κατὰ τῆς πέτρας, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσει. ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἀνέκραγον ὡς καταλυομένης σφῶν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μεστὸν ἦν ἀγανακτήσεώς τε καὶ θορύβου τὸ συνέδριον. 2 τοῖς μέντοι δέκα μετέμελεν εὐθέως τῆς τε κωλύσεως τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ὡς ἠρεθισμένην εἶδον ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι τὴν βουλήν· ἔπειτα προελθὼν[1] ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἄππιος καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν θορυβούντων βραχὺν ἐπισχεῖν[2] χρόνον, ἐπειδὴ κατέστειλε 3 τὸ ταραττόμενον αὐτῶν· "Οὐδένα ὑμῶν," εἶπεν, "ἀποστεροῦμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, λόγου, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι καιρῷ λέγῃ, τοὺς δ' ἐπιπολάζοντας καὶ πρὶν ἢ κληθῆναι προεξανισταμένους εἴργομεν. μηδὲν οὖν ἀγανακτεῖτε· καὶ γὰρ Ὁρατίῳ καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ καὶ παντὶ ἄλλῳ γνώμην ἀγορεύειν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τόπῳ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐθισμὸν καὶ κόσμον ἀποδώσομεν, ἐάν γε περὶ ὧν βουλευσόμενοι συνεληλύθατε, περὶ τού- 4 των λέγωσι καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω· ἐὰν δὲ δημαγωγῶσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διαστασιάζωσι τὴν πόλιν τὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα δημηγοροῦντες, οὐδενί ποτε[3]· τὴν δ'[4] ἐξουσίαν τοῦ κωλύειν τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας, ὦ Μάρκε Ὁράτιε, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἔχομεν, ὅτε ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν δημάρ-

[1] Portus : προσελθὼν O, Jacoby.
[2] ἐπισχεῖν L : ἐπισχὼν R.
[3] οὐδενί ποτε Post, οὐδέποτε Cary : οὐδὲν τότε O, Jacoby ; but in clauses like this Dionysius regularly places τότε first.
[4] δὲ LV : om. R.

disgraceful life both our own virtues and those of our ancestors."

VI. While he was still speaking,[1] the decemvirs surrounded him, crying out, menacing him with the tribunician power, and threatening to throw him down from the rock [2] if he would not be silent. Upon which all cried out, feeling that their liberty was being taken away; and the senate-chamber was full of indignation and turmoil. However, the decemvirs, when they saw that the senators were exasperated at their behaviour, repented promptly both of their having refused permission to speak and of their threat. Then Appius, coming forward, asked those who were creating a disturbance to have patience a moment; and having quieted their disorder, he said: "Not one of you, senators, do we deprive of the privilege of speaking, provided he speaks at the proper time; but we do restrain those who are too forward and rise up before they are called upon. Be not, therefore, offended. For we shall give leave, not only to Horatius and Valerius, but also to every other senator, to deliver his opinion in his turn according to the ancient custom and decorum, provided they speak about the matters which you have assembled to consider and about no extraneous subject; but if they endeavour to seduce you by popular harangues and to divide the commonwealth by speaking of matters that are not to the point, then to none of them ever. As for the power to restrain the disorderly, Marcus Horatius, we do possess it, having received it from the people when they voted to us both the magistracy of the consuls

[1] For chap. 6 *cf.* Livy iii. 40, 1.
[2] The Tarpeian Rock.

χων ἀρχὴν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ὁ χρόνος αὐτῆς οὔπω παρελήλυθεν, ὥσπερ σοι δοκεῖ. οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδείχθημεν οὐδ' εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ὡρισμένον, ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν καταστησώμεθα πᾶσαν τὴν νομοθεσίαν. συντελέσαντες οὖν ὅσα κατὰ νοῦν[1] ἔχομεν καὶ κυρώσαντες τοὺς λοιποὺς νόμους, τότ' ἀποθησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς βουλομένοις ὑμῶν ὑφέξομεν. τέως δ' οὐδὲν ἐλαττώσομεν οὔτε τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἐξουσίας οὔτε[2] τῆς δημαρχικῆς. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ὡς τάχιστα καὶ κάλλιστα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι, γνώμας ἀξιῶ παριόντας ὑμᾶς λέγειν, πρώτους[3] μέν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ σύνηθες καὶ πρέπον ὑμῖν, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἔπειτα τοὺς μέσους, τελευταίους δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους."

VII. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πρῶτον μὲν ἐκάλει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον Γάιον Κλαύδιον. ὁ δ' ἀναστὰς τοιαύτην διέθετο δημηγορίαν·

" Ἐπειδή με πρῶτον γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἀξιοῖ Ἄππιος, ὦ βουλή, τιμῶν διὰ τὸ[4] συγγενές, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προσήκει, καὶ δεῖ με ἃ φρονῶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους εἰπεῖν, πρὶν ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν, ἐκεῖνο βουλοίμην ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξετάσαι, τίσιν ἐπαρθέντες ἐλπίσιν Αἰκανοὶ καὶ Σαβῖνοι πόλεμον ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιόντες λεηλατεῖν, οἱ τέως ἀγαπῶντες καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὴν χάριν εἰδότες εἴ τις αὐτοὺς εἶα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς. ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο μάθητε, καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἥτις ἔσται κρατίστη

[1] κατὰ νοῦν O : ἐν νῷ Cobet.
[2] οὔτε . . . οὔτε Cary : οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ O, Jacoby.

and that of the tribunes ; and the term of it has not yet expired, as you think. For we were not appointed for a year or for any other definite period, but until we should have instituted the whole body of laws. When, therefore, we have completed what we propose and have got the remaining laws ratified, we shall then resign our magistracy and give an account of our actions to any of you who desire it. In the meantime we shall relax nothing either of the consular or of the tribunician power. As to the war, now, in what manner we may repulse our enemies most quickly and gloriously, I ask you to come forward and deliver your opinions—first the oldest members, as is customary and fitting for you, next those of a middle age, and last the youngest."

VII. Having said this, he proceeded to call first upon his uncle, Gaius Claudius, who, rising up, delivered a speech about as follows [1] :

" Since Appius desires me to deliver my opinion first, senators, showing me this honour because of our relationship, as becomes him, and since I must say what I think concerning the war with the Aequians and the Sabines, I should like, before declaring my own sentiments, to have you inquire what hopes have encouraged the Aequians and Sabines to venture to make war upon us and to invade and lay waste our country, nations which till now were quite satisfied and most grateful to Heaven if they were permitted to enjoy their own land in security. For if you once know what those hopes are, you will also know what means of deliverance from war with these

[1] For chaps. 7–15 *cf.* Livy iii. 40, 2-6.

[3] πρώτους L : πρῶτον R.
[4] διὰ τό O : τό or δὴ τό Reiske.

2 μαθήσεσθε. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν ἀκούσαντες ὅτι σεσάλευται καὶ νοσεῖ τὸ πάτριον ἡμῶν πολίτευμα ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῖς προεστηκόσι τῶν κοινῶν οὔτε ὁ δῆμος εὔνους ἐστὶν οὔτε οἱ πατρίκιοι, καὶ οὐ μάτην ἀκούοντες[1] (τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει, τὰς δ' αἰτίας ἐπισταμένοις ὑμῖν οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν) ὑπέλαβον, εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἡμᾶς κατάσχοι πόλεμος ἅμα τοῖς ἐντὸς τείχους κακοῖς, καὶ δόξειε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς δύναμιν ἐξάγειν τὴν προπολεμήσουσαν[2] τῆς γῆς, οὔτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὅρκον ἅπαντας ἥξειν[3] ἐκ προθυμίας ὡς πρότερον, ἀπεχθῶς διακειμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, οὔτε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις χρήσεσθαι[4] κατὰ τῶν μὴ παραγενομένων, δεδοικότας μή τι μεῖζον ἐργάσωνται κακόν, τούς τε ὑπακούσαντας καὶ τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντας ἢ καταλείψειν τὰ σημεῖα ἢ παρα-
3 μένοντας ἐθελοκακήσειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. ὧν οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἤλπισαν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὁμονοοῦσα πόλις ἅπτηται πολέμου, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμφέρον ἅπασι φαίνηται τοῖς τ' ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, μετὰ προθυμίας ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ χωροῦσι καὶ οὔτε πόνον οὔτε κίνδυνον οὐδένα
4 ὀκνοῦσιν· ὅταν δὲ νοσοῦσα ἐν αὑτῇ,[5] πρὶν ἢ τὰ ἔνδον καταστήσασθαι, τοῖς ὑπαιθρίοις ὁμόσε χωρῇ πολεμίοις,[6] καὶ παραστῇ τῷ μὲν πλήθει λογισμὸς ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν κακοπαθοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἵνα βεβαιότερον αὐτῶν ἕτεροι ἄρχωσι, τοῖς δ' ἡγεμόσιν ὅτι πολέμιον ἔχουσιν οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τὸ οἰκεῖον, νοσεῖ τὰ ὅλα καὶ πᾶσα

[1] ἀκούοντες O : ἀκούσαντες Reiske, Jacoby.
[2] προπολεμήσασαν LV. [3] ἕξειν LVM.
[4] χρήσασθαι LV. [5] αὑτῇ O. [6] Sylburg : πολέμοις LV.

nations will be most effectual. Well, then, when they heard that our time-honoured constitution has for a long time been shaken and is diseased and that neither the populace nor the patricians are well disposed toward those who are at the head of the commonwealth—and this they heard not without reason, since it is the truth, though I have no need to state the causes to you who are well acquainted with them—they assumed that if any foreign war should come upon us in addition to these domestic evils and the magistrates should resolve to march out with an army in defence of the country, neither the citizens would all present themselves cheerfully, as before, to take the military oath, because of their hostility to the magistrates, nor would these inflict the punishments ordained by law upon those who did not present themselves, lest they should occasion some greater mischief; and that those who did obey and take up arms would either desert the standards or, if they remained, would deliberately play the coward in battle. And none of these hopes was ill grounded; for when a harmonious state undertakes a war and all, both rulers and ruled, look upon their interests as identical, all go to meet the perils with alacrity and decline no toil or danger; but when a state which suffers from sickness within itself engages with its enemies outside before composing its internal disorders, and the rank and file stop to consider that they are undergoing hardships, not for their own advantage, but to strengthen the domination of others over them, and the generals reflect that their own army is no less hostile to them than

ἱκανὴ δύναμις τὰ τοιαῦτα στρατεύματα καταγωνίσασθαι καὶ φθεῖραι.

VIII. "Ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ βουλή, τὰ Σαβίνων τε καὶ Αἰκανῶν ἐνθυμήματα, οἷς πεπιστευκότες ἐμβεβλήκασιν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀγανακτήσαντες τῷ καταφρονεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπαρθέντων ὡς ἔχομεν ὀργῆς δύναμιν ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ψηφισώμεθα, δέδοικα μὴ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἃ προὔλαβον ἐκεῖνοι[1] συμβῇ, μᾶλλον δ' εὖ οἶδα συμ-
2 βησόμενα. ἐὰν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατα[2] καταστησώμεθα—ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἥ τ' εὐκοσμία τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τὸ πᾶσι ταὐτὰ συμφέροντα φαίνεσθαι—ἐξελάσαντες μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν νῦν ἐπιχωριάζουσαν ὕβριν καὶ πλεονεξίαν, ἀποδόντες δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον σχῆμα τῇ πολιτείᾳ, πτήξαντες οἱ νῦν θρασεῖς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἥξουσιν ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τάς τε βλάβας . . . θούμενοι[3] καὶ περὶ διαλλαγῶν διαλεξόμενοι, ὑπάρξει τε[4] ἡμῖν ὃ πάντες ἂν εὔξαιντο οἱ νοῦν[5] ἔχοντες, χωρὶς ὅπλων διαπεπολεμηκέναι τὸν πρὸς
3 αὐτοὺς πόλεμον. ταῦτα δὴ λογισαμένους ἡμᾶς οἴομαι δεῖν τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου βουλήν, ἐπειδὴ ταραχωδῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει τὰ ἐντὸς τείχους, ἐᾶσαι κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας δὲ καὶ κόσμου πολιτικοῦ προθεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ λέγειν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξεγένετο ἡμῖν, πρὶν εἰς τοῦτο καταστῆσαι

[1] ἐκείνοις L V.

[2] τἀναγκαιότατα Jacoby.

[3] . . . θούμενοι L, ὠθούμενοι R : οἰσόμενοι or λυσόμενοι Sylburg, ὠνούμενοι Portus, διορθούμενοι Reiske, ἐπανορθούμενοι Kiessling, ἐξακούμενοι Cobet, καθαρούμενοι Post, ἀπολογιούμενοι Warmington. A future participle is wanted.

[4] τὰς L V.

is the foe, everything is diseased and any force is sufficient to defeat and destroy such armies.

VIII. "These, senators, are the reasonings of both the Sabines and the Aequians, and because they believed them to be valid, they have invaded our territory. So if we, showing our resentment at being scorned by them in their exalted state of mind, vote in our present wrathful state to lead out an army against them, I fear that all they anticipated may happen to us, or rather, I know full well that it will come to pass. But if we establish the conditions that are of primary importance and most necessary—and these are good order on the part of the multitude and the recognition by all citizens that their interests are identical—by banishing from the state the insolence and greed which are now the fashion and by restoring the constitution to its ancient form, these enemies who are now so bold will cower and, hurling their weapons from their hands, will soon come to us to make amends [1] for the injuries they have caused and to treat for peace, and we shall have it in our power—a thing which all men of sense would wish—to have put an end to the war without resorting to arms. In view of these considerations I believe we ought to defer the consideration of the war for the present, since our affairs within the city's walls are in a turbulent state, and, instead, give leave to everyone who so desires to speak in favour of harmony and good order among our citizens. For we never had the opportunity, until the war brought us to this pass, of deciding in

[1] The verb is uncertain, only the final letters being preserved in the MSS.

[5] *νοῦν* Steph. : *νῦν* O.

τὸν πόλεμον,[1] ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς κληθεῖσι[2] περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πραγμάτων[3] εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς
4 εἶχε[4] τῶν γιγνομένων διαγνῶναι· πολλῆς γὰρ ἂν ἐπιτιμήσεως ἄξιος ἦν εἴ τις ἐκεῖνον[5] ἀφεὶς τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τούτῳ[6] λέγειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν[7] ἠξίου· οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν βεβαίως ὅτι τοῦτον ὑπερβαλόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον ἑτέρου δυνησόμεθα τυχεῖν ἐπιτηδειοτέρου. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι βούλεταί τις εἰκάζειν, πολὺς ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔσται χρόνος ἐν ᾧ περὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν συνελευσόμεθα βουλευσόμενοι.

IX. "Ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς, Ἄππιε, τοὺς προεστηκότας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἁπάντων συμφέρον[8] οὐχὶ τὸ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ λυσιτελοῦν ὀφείλοντας σκοπεῖν, ἐάν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας ἀλλὰ μὴ καθ' ἡδονὰς τὰς ὑμετέρας λέγω, μή μοι διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπεχθάνεσθαι,[9] ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ λοιδορίᾳ καὶ προπηλακισμῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῶν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' ἵνα δείξας ἐν οἵῳ κλύδωνι τὰ πράγματα σαλεύει τῆς πόλεως, τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτῶν ἥτις ἔσται

[1] *εἰς τοῦτο καταστῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον* L : *εἰς τοῦτο καταστήσαιντο πόλεμον* V, *εἰς τοῦτο καταστήσαιντο περὶ πολέμων* M, *εἰς τοῦτον καταστῆναι τὸν πόλεμον* Reiske.

[2] *κληθεῖσι* V : *κληθεῖσι σκοπεῖν* R.

[3] After *πραγμάτων* M adds *οὕτως ἐχόντων καὶ*.

[4] *εἶχε* V : *ἔχει* R.

[5] *τοῦτον* Reiske.

[6] *ἐκείνῳ* Reiske. But with his *τοῦτον* just above, *ἑτέρῳ* would have been better; see note on translation.

[7] *αὐτῶν* O : *ἄλλων* Sylburg, following Lapus.

[8] *ἁπάντων συμφέρον* (*cf.* chap. 9, 2 f.) Sylburg : *ἀπὸ τῶν συμφερόντων* O, Jacoby.

[9] Steph. : *ἀπεχθάνεσθε* O, *ἀπέχθεσθαι* Kiessling, *ἄχθεσθαι* Vassis.

a meeting called by this government about the business of the commonwealth, whether any of the measures being taken were unsatisfactory. For, had there been such an opportunity, great censure would be deserved by anyone who had neglected that occasion and only at this time saw fit to talk about these matters.[1] Nor could anyone say for certain that, if we let this opportunity pass as unsuitable, we shall be able to find one that is more suitable. For if one cares to judge the future by the past, it will be a long time before we meet again to consider any matter of the public business.

IX. "I ask this, Appius, of you men who are at the head of the commonwealth and are in duty bound to consult the common interest of all rather than your private advantage, that if I speak some truths with frankness instead of trying to please you, you will not be offended on that account, when you consider that I shall not make my remarks with any intent to abuse and insult your magistracy, but in order to show in how great a sea the affairs of the commonwealth are tossed and to point out what will be both their safety and their reformation. It

[1] This seems to be the meaning of the text given by the MSS., but the words "had there been such an opportunity" and "only" are merely implied in the Greek. Lapus, followed by Sylburg and others, not appreciating this ellipsis, and wishing to avoid a sentence inconsistent with what has just preceded, proposed to read "about other matters" in place of "about these matters." Reiske interchanged "that" and "this" occasion; but it is difficult to see what "on that occasion" would mean following the neglect of "this" occasion. He might better have proposed "who, neglecting this occasion, should see fit on another occasion," thus paralleling the idea expressed in the next sentence.

2 φράσω. ἅπασι μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ὅσοις τῇ πατρίδι . . . δωσιν[1] ἀναγκαῖός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων λόγος, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι γνώμης ἄρχειν[2] ἠξίωμαι διὰ τιμήν· αἰσχύνη δὲ καὶ μωρία πολλὴ πρῶτον ἀναστάντα μὴ οὐχ ἃ δεῖ πρῶτον ἐπανορθώσασθαι λέγειν. ἔπειθ' ὅτι συμβέβηκεν ὄντι θείῳ πρὸς πατρὸς Ἀππίου τοῦ προεστηκότος τῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἥδεσθαί τε πάντων μάλιστα ὅταν[3] εὖ τὰ κοινὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπεύηται, καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι παντὸς[4] ὁτου-
3 δήτινος μᾶλλον ὅταν μὴ καλῶς. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι ταύτην[5] πολιτείας διαδέδεγμαι[6] προαίρεσιν ἐκ προγόνων τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα πρὸ τῶν οἰκείων λυσιτελῶν αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον ἴδιον ὑπολογίζεσθαι, ἣν οὐκ ἂν προδοίην ἑκὼν εἶναι[7] καὶ οὐκ ἂν καταισχύναιμι τὰς ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
4 ἀρετάς. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς καθεστώσης πολιτείας, ὅτι πονηρῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει καὶ δυσχεραίνουσιν ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντες αὐτῇ, μέγιστον ὑμῖν γενέσθω τεκμήριον,[8] ὃ μόνον οὐδ' ἀγνοεῖν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁσημέραι καταλιπόντες τὰς πατρῴας ἑστίας οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν δημοτικῶν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις μετατιθέμενοι τὰς οἰκήσεις, οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντας τῆς πόλεως ἀγρούς· καὶ

[1] τῇ πατρίδι σώσειν L, τῇ πατρίδι δώσιν V, τῇ πατρίδι μέλει τοῦ καλῶς ἔχειν R, ὅσοις σὺν τῇ πατρίδι μέλει τοῦ καλῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἔχειν Reiske.

[2] ἄρχειν VM : ἄρξειν L.

[3] μάλιστα ὅταν Sylburg : ὅταν μάλιστα O.

[4] Sylburg : πάντως O.

[5] ταύτην (or τοιαύτην) added by Sylburg.

[6] διαδέδειγμαι LV.

[7] δέ μοι ταύτην τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν after εἶναι deleted by Smit and Schenkl. Reiske proposed to read <προσήκει> δέ

is perhaps incumbent upon all who . . .[1] for the fatherland, to speak of the matters that are for the public interest, and this is true particularly in my case. First, because I have been asked, as an honour due me, to take the lead in expressing my opinion, and it would be a shame, yes a great folly, for the man who rises up first not to mention the things that need to be reformed first. In the next place, because it has fallen to me, as the paternal uncle of Appius, the chief of the decemvirs, both to be pleased more than all others when the commonwealth is well governed by them and to be grieved above anyone else when it is not so governed. Besides these motives, I have inherited it as a political principle from my ancestors to prefer the interests of the public to my own private advantages and to take thought for no personal danger, a principle that I would not willingly betray and thus dishonour the virtues of those men. As to the present form of government, that it is in a bad state and that almost everyone is dissatisfied with it, let this be the strongest proof for you, the one thing you cannot be ignorant of, that the most respectable of the plebeians are daily abandoning their ancestral hearths and fleeing out of the city, some with their wives and children removing to the neighbouring cities and others to country districts that lie farthest from Rome.

[1] The better MSS. have a gap here in the text which has not been satisfactorily filled either by the readings found in the inferior MSS. or by the conjectures of modern scholars.

μοι ταύτην <τηρεῖν τὴν> τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν, Kiessling *<φυλάξω> δὴ τοιαύτην τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν.*

[8] *πάντες οἱ τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες* after *τεκμήριον* deleted by Jacoby. Kiessling placed these words after *ὀλίγου δεῖν.*

οὐδὲ τῶν πατρικίων πολλοὶ τὰς[1] κατ' ἄστυ ποιοῦνται διατριβὰς ὡς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ πλείους τὸν βίον ἔχουσιν[2] ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς. καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν, ὅτε[3] καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ὀλίγοι μέν τινες οἱ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἢ φιλίαν προσήκοντες ὑμῖν ὑπομένουσιν ἐντὸς τείχους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ἐρημίαν ποθεινοτέραν ἡγοῦνται τῆς πατρίδος; ὅτε γοῦν ἐδέησεν ὑμῖν καλέσαι τὴν[4] βουλήν, ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν καθ' ἕνα καλούμενοι συνῆλθον, οἷς πάτριον ἦν ἅμα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μηδενὸς ἀπολεί-
6 πεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν. ἆρ' οὐν τἀγαθὰ φεύγοντας ὑπολαμβάνετε ἀνθρώπους καταλιπεῖν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας ἢ τὰ κακά; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶομαι τὰ κακά. καίτοι τίνος ἔλαττον οἴεσθ' εἶναι κακὸν πόλει, καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἧ πολλῶν οἰκείων δεῖ σωμάτων εἰ μέλλει βεβαίως καθέξειν τὴν τῶν προσοίκων ἀρχήν, τὸ καταλείπεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἐρημοῦσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πατρικίων, οὔτε πολέμου κατασχόντος αὐτὴν οὔτε νόσου λοιμικῆς οὔτ' ἄλλης θεηλάτου συμφορᾶς οὐδεμιᾶς;

X. "Βούλεσθε οὖν ἀκοῦσαι τίνες εἰσὶν αἱ βιαζόμεναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταλιπεῖν αἰτίαι ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους προγόνων καὶ ἐξερημοῦν ἑφέστια καὶ κτήσεις πατέρων καὶ πᾶσαν ἡγεῖσθαι γῆν ἀναγ-
2 καιοτέραν τῆς πατρίδος; οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ αἰτίας ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει. ἐγὼ δὴ φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. κατηγορίαι γίνονται τῆς ἀρχῆς

[1] τὰς placed before διατριβὰς by Cobet.
[2] ἄγουσιν (or διάγουσιν) Grasberger.
[3] Sylburg : ὅτι O. [4] τὴν om. LV.

And even of the patricians not many continue to reside in the city as they formerly did, but the greater part of these also are living in the country. Yet why should I speak of the others when only a few even of the senators, and those such as are attached to you either by relationship or friendship, remain within the walls, while the rest regard solitude as more desirable than their native city? At any rate, when you found it necessary to assemble the senate, the members came together only when summoned from their country seats one by one—these men with whom it was a time-honoured custom to keep watch over the fatherland in conjunction with the magistrates and to shirk none of the public business. Do you imagine, then, that it is to flee from their blessings or rather from their evils that men abandon their native lands? For my part, I think it is from their evils. And yet what greater evil do you think there is for a commonwealth, particularly for that of the Romans, which needs many troops of its own nationals if it is to maintain firmly its sovereignty over its neighbours, than to be abandoned by the plebeians and deserted by the patricians, when oppressed neither by war, pestilence nor any other calamity inflicted by the hand of Heaven?

X. "Do you wish, then, to hear the reasons that are compelling these men to abandon temples and sepulchres of their ancestors, to desert hearths and possessions of their fathers, and to look upon every land as dearer to them than their own? For these things are not taking place without reason. Well, then, I will inform you and conceal nothing. Many charges are being brought against the magistracy

ὑμῶν, Ἄππιε, πολλαὶ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν· εἰ μὲν ἀληθεῖς ἢ ψευδεῖς οὐδὲν δέομαι ζητεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, γίνονται δ' οὖν ὅμως. οὐδεὶς δ', ὡς εἰπεῖν,[1] ἔξω τῶν ὑμετέρων ἑταίρων οἰκείως τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔχει πράγμασιν. οἱ μέν γ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, οἷς προσῆκεν ἱερᾶσθαί τε καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καρποῦσθαι τιμὰς ἃς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐκαρποῦντο, ἄχθονται τούτων ἀπελαυνόμενοι δι' ὑμᾶς τὰς προγονικὰς ἀξιώσεις ἀπολωλε-
3 κότες. οἱ δὲ τὴν διὰ μέσου τάξιν ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν ἀπράγμονα διώκοντες ἡσυχίαν χρημάτων τ' ἀδίκους ἁρπαγὰς ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὑμῖν καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς εἰς γαμετὰς ὀδύρονται γυναῖκας καὶ παροινίας εἰς θυγατέρας ἐπιγάμους καὶ ἄλλας
4 ὕβρεις πολλὰς καὶ χαλεπάς. τὸ δὲ πενέστατον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ μέρος, οὔτ' ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἔτι κύριον γινόμενον[2] οὔτε ψηφοφοριῶν οὔτ' εἰς ἐκκλησίας καλούμενον οὔτ' ἄλλης πολιτικῆς φιλανθρωπίας μεταλαμβάνον οὐδεμιᾶς, διὰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ὑμᾶς μισεῖ καὶ τυραννίδα καλεῖ τὴν ἀρχήν.

XI. "Πῶς οὖν ἐπανορθώσετε ταῦτα καὶ παύσεσθε δι' αἰτίας παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὄντες; τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσθ'[3] ὑπόλοιπον εἰπεῖν. εἰ προβούλευμα τοῦ συνεδρίου ποιήσαντες ἀποδοίητε τῷ δήμῳ διαγνῶναι πότερον αὐτῷ δοκεῖ πάλιν ὑπάτους τ' ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ δημάρχους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τὰς πατρίους ἢ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας.
2 ἐάν τε γὰρ ἀγαπῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ὀλιγαρχούμενοι καὶ μένειν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας

[1] οὐδεὶς δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν Casaubon, οὐδ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν Reiske : οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν O. [2] Reiske : γενόμενον O.
[3] ἔθ' Kiessling.

of you decemvirs, Appius, and by many people. Whether they are true or false I do not care to inquire at present, but at any rate they are being brought. And not a man, I may say, outside of your own partisans is well disposed toward the present state of affairs. For the men of worth, descended from men of worth, who ought to hold the priesthoods and the magistracies and to enjoy the other honours which were enjoyed by their fathers, are indignant when they are excluded from these by you and thus have lost the dignities of their ancestors. The men of middle rank in the state, who pursue a life of tranquillity free from public duties, accuse you of snatching away their property unjustly and lament the insults you offer to their wedded wives, your drunken licentiousness toward their marriageable daughters, and many other grievous abuses. And the poorest part of the populace, who have no longer the power either of choosing magistrates or of giving their votes upon other occasions, who are not summoned to assemblies and do not share in any other political courtesy, hate you upon all these accounts and call your government a tyranny.

XI. "How, then, shall you reform these matters and cease being the object of accusations among your fellow citizens? For this remains to be discussed. You can do so if you will procure a preliminary decree of the senate and restore to the people the right of deciding whether they prefer to appoint consuls, tribunes and the other traditional magistrates once more or to continue under the same form of government as at present. For if all the Romans are content to be governed by an oligarchy and vote that you shall continue in possession of the

ψηφίσωνται, κατὰ νόμον ἔξετε καὶ οὐ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐάν τε ὑπάτους πάλιν αἱρεῖσθαι βουληθῶσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ὡς πρότερον, ἀποθήσεσθε νόμῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ οὐ δόξετε ἀκόντων ἄρχειν τῶν ἴσων· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τυραννικόν, τὸ δὲ παρ' ἑκόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς λαμβάνειν ἀριστοκρατικόν. 3 τοῦ δὲ πολιτεύματος τούτου πρῶτον οἴομαι δεῖν ἄρξαι σὲ καὶ παῦσαι τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ κατασταθεῖσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν, Ἄππιε, λυσιτελῆ γέ[1] ποθ' ἡμῖν γενομένην,[2] νῦν δ' ἐπαχθῆ. ἃ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πεισθῆναί μοι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἐπίφθονον ἐξουσίαν ταύτην 4 κερδανεῖς, ἄκουσον. ἐὰν μὲν ὅλον ὑμῶν τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γένηται προαιρέσεως, διὰ σὲ πάντες ὑπολήψονται τὸν ἄρξαντα καὶ τούτους γεγενῆσθαι χρηστούς· ἐὰν δ' οὗτοι φιλοχωρῶσιν ἐπὶ τῇ παρανόμῳ δυναστείᾳ, σοὶ μὲν ἅπαντες εἴσονται τὴν χάριν ὅτι μόνος ἐβουλήθης δίκαια ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ θέλοντας σὺν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ μεγάλῃ βλάβῃ 5 παύσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁμολογίας δὲ καὶ πίστεις ἀπορρήτους εἴ τινας ἀλλήλοις δεδώκατε θεοὺς ἐγγυητὰς ποιησάμενοι—τάχα γάρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ὑμῖν πέπρακται—φυλαττομένας μὲν[3] ἀνοσίους εἶναι νόμιζε ὡς κατὰ πολιτῶν καὶ πατρίδος, καταλυομένας δ' εὐσεβεῖς. θεοὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ καλαῖς καὶ δικαίαις παραλαμβάνεσθαι φιλοῦσιν ὁμολογίαις, οὐκ ἐπ' αἰσχραῖς καὶ ἀδίκοις.

XII. "Εἰ δὲ διὰ φόβον ἐχθρῶν ὀκνεῖς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, μή σοι κίνδυνοί τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν

[1] Reiske : τέ O.
[2] Sylburg : γενόμενον O.
[3] μὲν R : om. LV, Jacoby.

same power, you will hold your magistracy in accordance with law and not by force ; whereas, if they wish to choose consuls again and all the other magistrates as aforetime, you will resign your power in a legal manner and avoid the imputation of governing your equals without their consent. For the latter course is tyrannical, but to receive the magistracies with the consent of the governed is the mark of an aristocracy. And of this measure I think that you, Appius, ought to be the author and thus put an end to the oligarchy instituted by yourself, which was once an advantage to us but is now a grievance. Hear, now, what you will gain by following my advice and resigning this invidious power. If your whole college is actuated by the same principle, everyone will think that it is because of you who set the example that the others too have become virtuous, whereas if these others are too fond of their illegal power, all will feel grateful to you for being the only person who desired to do what was right, and they will force out of office with ignominy and great hurt those who refuse to resign it. And if you have entered into any agreements and given secret pledges to one another, invoking the gods as witnesses,—for it is possible that you may have done something even of this nature,—look upon the observance of these agreements as impious, since they were made against your fellow citizens and your country, and the breaking of them as pious. For the gods like to be called in as partners for the performance of honourable and just agreements, not of those that are shameful and unjust.

XII. " However, if it is through fear of your enemies that you hesitate to resign your magistracy,

ἐπαχθῶσι καὶ δίκας ἀναγκασθῆς ὑπέχειν τῶν πεπραγμένων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δέδοικας. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μικρόθυμος οὐδ' ἀχάριστος ἔσται ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἁμαρτημάτων σου μεμνῆσθαι τῶν δ' εὐεργεσιῶν ἐπιλελῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀντιπαρεξετάζων τὰ νῦν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς πάλαι κακοῖς ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἡγήσεται συγγνώμης ἄξια, ταῦτα δ' ἐπαίνων. 2 ὑπάρξει δέ σοι καὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἔργων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ὄντων ὑπομιμνήσκειν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χάριν εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀπολογίαις τε χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ κατηγορήματα πολλαῖς· τοῦτο μέν, ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἥμαρτες, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων τις ἀγνοοῦντός σου· τοῦτο δ', ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦσθα τὸν πράττοντα κωλύειν ἰσότιμον ὄντα· τοῦτο δ', ὡς ἑτέρου τινὸς ἔργου χρησίμου χάριν ἠναγκάσθης ἀβούλητόν τι 3 ὑπομεῖναι. πολὺς γὰρ ἂν εἴη ὁ[1] λόγος εἰ πάσας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι βουλοίμην τὰς ἀπολογίας. καὶ οἷς μηδὲν ἀπολόγημα ὑπάρχει μήτε δίκαιον μήτ' ἐπιεικές, ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ παραιτούμενοι πραΰνουσι τὰς τῶν ἠδικημένων ὀργάς, οἱ μὲν εἰς ἄνοιαν ἡλικίας καταφεύγοντες, οἱ δ' εἰς πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας, οἱ δ' εἰς μέγεθος ἀρχῆς, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν ἅπαντας πλανῶσαν τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους 4 λογισμοὺς τύχην. ἐγώ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποστάντι ὑπισχνοῦμαι πάντων ἀμνηστίαν ὑπάρξειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐν κακοῖς εὐπρεπεῖς.

XIII. "Ἀλλὰ δέδοικα μὴ πρόφασις μὲν οὐκ

[1] ὁ LV : om. R.

lest they should form some dangerous designs against you and you should be compelled to give an account of your actions, your fear is not justified. For the Roman people will be neither so mean-spirited nor so ungrateful as to remember your faults and forget your good services, but offsetting your past errors by your present merits, will look upon the former as deserving of forgiveness and the latter of praise. You will also have the opportunity of reminding the people of the many fine actions you performed before the establishment of the oligarchy, of claiming the gratitude due for these as a means to assist and save you, and of employing many lines of defence against the charges. For example, that you yourself did not commit the wrong, but one of the others without your knowledge ; or that you had no power to restrain the person who did the deed, since he was of equal authority with yourself ; or, again, that you were forced to submit to something undesirable for the sake of something else which was useful. Indeed, it would be a long story if I chose to enumerate all the lines of defence open to you. And even those who can make no defence that is either just or plausible, by acknowledging their guilt and craving pardon soften the resentment of the injured parties, some by falling back on the folly of youth, and others on their association with wicked men, some on the greatness of their power, and still others on Fortune that misleads all human calculations. I myself promise you, if you resign your magistracy, that all your faults shall be forgotten and that the people shall be reconciled to you upon such terms as in your unfortunate situation will be honourable.

XIII. " But I fear that the danger is not the real

ἀληθὴς ὁ κίνδυνος ἦ τοῦ μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς,—μυρίοις γοῦν[1] ὑπῆρξε τυραννίδας ἀποθεμένοις μηδὲν δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν παθεῖν,—αἱ[2] δ' ἀληθεῖς ὦσιν αἰτίαι φιλοτιμία κενὴ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ καλοῦ[3] διώκουσα καὶ πόθος ἡδονῶν
2 ὀλεθρίων ἃς οἱ τυραννικοὶ φέρουσι βίοι. εἰ δὲ βούλει μὴ τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ τὰς σκιὰς[4] τῶν τιμῶν καὶ τῶν εὐπαθειῶν[5] διώκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς καρποῦσθαι τὰς ἀληθεῖς τιμάς, ἀπόδος τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τιμὰς λάμβανε παρὰ τῶν ἴσων καὶ ζήλου τύγχανε παρὰ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων καὶ κλέος ἀθάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος κατάλιπε τοῖς ἐγγόνοις. αὗται γάρ εἰσι βέβαιοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς τιμαὶ καὶ ἀναφαίρετοι χαριέστατοί
3 τε[6] καὶ ἀμεταμέλητοι. τρέφε[7] τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἡδόμενος, ὧν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα δόξεις γεγονέναι δυναστείαν βαρεῖαν αὐτῆς ἀφελόμενος. ποίησαι δὲ τούτων παραδείγματα τοὺς προγόνους, ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὅτι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων οὐδεὶς ἐπεθύμησεν ἐξουσίας δεσποτικῆς οὐδὲ[8] ταῖς ἐπονειδίστοις τοῦ σώματος ἐδούλευσεν ἡδοναῖς. τοιγάρτοι καὶ ζῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τελευτήσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων[9] ἐπαινεῖσθαι.
4 μαρτυρεῖται γάρ τοι[10] παρὰ πάντων αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, ἣν ἐκβαλοῦσα τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις κατεστήσατο, βεβαιότατοι φύλακες ἐγένοντο. καὶ μηδὲν τῶν σεαυτοῦ λαμπροτάτων λόγων τε καὶ πράξεων ἐπιλανθάνου. καλαὶ γὰρ

[1] *οὖν* LVM. [2] *αἱ* Portus : *ἐὰν* O.

[3] *τῆς δόξης* after *τοῦ καλοῦ* deleted by Cobet ; Garrer and Jacoby preferred to delete *τοῦ καλοῦ*.

[4] *καὶ τὰς σκιὰς* Sylburg : *κατὰ σκιὰς* V, *καὶ τὰς σκοτίας* M, *κατασκοτίας* L.

ground for your not resigning your magistracy—at all events, men without number have been able to lay aside their tyrannies without suffering any harm at the hands of their fellow citizens—but that the true causes are a vain ambition, which pursues the phantom of honour, and a yearning for those pernicious pleasures which the life led by tyrants brings in its train. If, however, instead of pursuing the vain images and shadows of the honours and enjoyments, you wish to enjoy the real honours themselves, then restore the aristocracy to your country, receive honours from your equals and gain the praise of posterity, and in exchange for your mortal body leave an immortal renown to your descendants. For these are lasting and real honours, which can never be taken from you and afford the greatest pleasure without any regrets. Nourish your soul by finding pleasure in your country's welfare, of which you will be regarded as the chief author by delivering her from a grievous domination. In doing this take your ancestors as your examples, bearing in mind that not one of those men aimed at despotic power or became a slave to the shameful pleasures of the body. For these reasons it was their fortune not only to be honoured while they lived, but after their death to be praised by those who came after them. For all bear witness that they were the stoutest guardians of the aristocracy which our state established after banishing the kings. And by no means forget your own most splendid words and deeds.

[5] Reiske : *εὐηθειῶν* O, *εὐκλειῶν* Sylburg, *εὐημεριῶν* Jacoby.
[6] *χαριέστατοί τε* Sylburg : *χαρίεις τε* O, *χάριτές τε* Reiske.
[7] Reiske : *στρέφε* O. [8] *οὐδὲν* LV, *οὐδ' ἐν* M.
[9] *ἐπιγινομένων* VM : *ἐπιγενομένων* L.
[10] *γάρ τοι* V : *γὰρ* M, *γέ τοι* L.

αἱ πρῶταί σου τῶν πολιτικῶν ἔργων ὑποθέσεις ἐγένοντο καὶ μεγάλας ἐπέθρεψαν[1] ἡμῖν ἀρετῆς ἐλπίδας, αἷς ἀκολούθως[2] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν σ' ἅπαντες[3] ἀξιοῦμεν. ἀναχώρει δὴ πάλιν εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ φύσιν, Ἄππιε τέκνον, καὶ γίνου τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν πολιτευμάτων μὴ τυραννικὸς ἀλλ' ἀριστοκρατικός, καὶ φεῦγε τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλοῦντας, δι' οὓς ἐξέβης τῶν χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ παρεπλάγχθης τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει λόγον, ὑφ' ὧν ἂν γένηταί τις ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ κακός, ὑπὸ τούτων πάλιν αὐτὸν[4] ἐκ πονηροῦ γενέσθαι χρηστόν.

XIV. "Ταῦτά σοι πολλάκις ἐβουλήθην ὑποθέσθαι[5] μόνῳ μόνος[6] εἰς λόγους παραγενόμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντα διδάξαι, τὰ δ' ὡς ἁμαρτάνοντα νουθετῆσαι· καὶ παρεγενόμην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀπήλασαν δέ με οἱ σοὶ παῖδες ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις[7] οὐ σχολὴν ἄγειν σε λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἕτερά τινα[8] πράττειν ἀναγκαιότερα, εἰ δή τί[9] σοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐσεβείας ἀναγκαιότερον ἦν. τάχα δ' οὐχ ὑπὸ σοῦ κελευσθέντες οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλ' ἐφ'[10] ἑαυτῶν γνόντες, διέκλεισάν με τῆς εἰσόδου, καὶ βουλοίμην οὕτως τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔχειν. τὸ πρᾶγμα δή με ἠνάγκασε τοῦτο διαλεχθῆναι ἐν[11] τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς σὲ περὶ ὧν ἐβουλόμην, ἐπειδὴ μόνῳ πρὸς

[1] ἐπέθρεψαν Jacoby : ὑπέστρεψαν R, ὑπιστριψαν M, ὑπέθρεψαν Sylburg, ὑπέγραψαν Casaubon.
[2] ἀκολούθως L : ἀκόλουθον VM.
[3] ἅπαντες L : om. R.
[4] αὐτὸν O : αὖ Naber.
[5] ὑποθέσθαι L : ἐκθέσθαι MV.
[6] μόνῳ μόνος L : μόνος μόνῳ R.
[7] ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις Cary, πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον Reiske : ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων O, Jacoby, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας Sylburg.

For your first principles of political action were honourable and inspired in us great hopes of your virtue ; and we all ask you to act in future in conformity with those principles. Revert, then, once more to your own character, Appius, my son, and in your choice of policies do not espouse the cause of tyranny, but that of the aristocracy ; and shun the pleasure-seeking companions who were the cause of your departing from honest practices and of your straying from the straight path. For it is unreasonable to suppose that those through whose influence a man has been changed from good to bad will change him back again from an evil to a virtuous man.

XIV. " This advice I have often desired to give you, if I could have a private conversation with you, not only by way of instructing one who is ignorant, but also of reproving one who errs ; and I have gone more than once to your house. But your servants turned me away, saying that you had no leisure for private matters, but were attending to other more urgent business—if, indeed, anything could be more urgent for you than respect for your family ! Perhaps it was not by your command but of their own accord that they barred my entrance, and I could wish that this were the truth of the matter. This experience, then, has forced me to talk to you in the senate about the matters I wished to discuss with you, since I got no opportunity of doing

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[8] ἕτερά τι LV.

[9] δή τί Reiske : δ' ἐπὶ O. ὥσπερ εἰ δή τί . . . ἦν Capps, ὡς δή τί . . . ὄν Cary.

[10] ἐφ' M : ἀφ' LV.

[11] ἐν added by Casaubon.

μόνον οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. καιρὸν δ' ἔχει πάντῃ λέγεσθαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα παρ' ἀνθρώποις
3 μᾶλλον, Ἄππιε, ἢ μηδαμῆ. ἀποδεδωκὼς δή σοι[1] τὰ τοῦ γένους ὀφειλήματα μαρτύρομαι θεούς, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς κοιναῖς θυσίαις γεραίρομεν οἱ τῆς Ἀππίου γενεᾶς διάδοχοι, καὶ προγόνων δαίμονας, οἷς μετὰ θεοὺς δευτέρας τιμὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀποδίδομεν κοινάς, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας δὲ τούτους γῆν, ἣ κατέχει τὸν σὸν μὲν πατέρα ἐμὸν δ' ἀδελφόν, ὅτι σοι παρέσχημαι ψυχήν τε καὶ φωνὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κράτιστα βουλευομένην· καὶ ἐπανορθῶν τὰς ἀγνοίας σου κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀξιῶ σε μὴ κακοῖς[2] ἰᾶσθαι τὰ κακά, μηδὲ τῶν πλειόνων ὀρεγόμενον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀπολέσαι, μηδ' ἵνα τῶν ἴσων τε καὶ κρειττόνων ἄρχῃς ὑπὸ τῶν
4 ἡττόνων τε καὶ κακιόνων ἄρχεσθαι. πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔτι σοι λέγειν βουλόμενος ὀκνῶ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω βουλεύματα ὁ θεὸς ἄγει σε, καὶ ταῦτα πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἴρηκα, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω, διὰ κενῆς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρῶ. ἔχετε, ὦ βουλὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς πόλεως, τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς καταλύσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει θορύβων τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως. εἰ δέ τις ἕτερα τούτων κρείττω ἐρεῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα νικάτω."

XV. Τοιαῦτ' εἰπόντος Κλαυδίου καὶ πολλὴν ἐλπίδα τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρασχόντος ὡς ἀποθησομένων τῶν δέκα τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἄππιος μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἠξίωσεν εἰπεῖν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλιγαρ-

[1] σοι Steph. : σου O (ἀποδεδωκότος δή σου M).
[2] κακοῖς Cobet : τοῖς κακοῖς O, Jacoby.

so by ourselves alone; and things that are honourable and advantageous, Appius, may be mentioned seasonably anywhere in public rather than nowhere. Having now performed for you the duty I owe to our family, I protest by the gods, whose temples and altars we who carry on the succession of the Appian family honour with common sacrifices, and by the genii of our ancestors, to whom after the gods we pay the next honours and gratitude in common, and, above all these, by the earth, which holds your father and my brother, that I have put at your disposal both my mind and my voice to give you the best advice. And now, desiring to correct your ignorance as best I may, I ask you not to attempt to cure the evils by evils, nor, by aiming at too much, to lose even what you already have, nor again, by attempting to rule over your equals and your superiors, to be ruled yourself by those who are inferior and baser. I should like to say much more to you upon many subjects, but hesitate to do so. For if God is leading you to better resolutions, even this that I have said is more than sufficient; but if to worse, then what I have still to say will also be said in vain. You now have my opinion, senators, and you who are at the head of the commonwealth, concerning the means both of putting an end to the war and of reforming the civil disorders. If anyone, however, shall offer better advice than this, let the best prevail."

XV. After Claudius had spoken thus and given the senate great reason to hope that the decemvirs would resign their power, Appius did not see fit to make any answer to his advice. But Marcus Cornelius, one of the other members of the oligarchy,

χῶν[1] προελθὼν Κορνήλιος Μάρκος· "'Ημεῖς μέν,'' ἔφησεν, "ὦ Κλαύδιε, περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμφερόντων αὐτοὶ διαγνωσόμεθα τῆς σῆς οὐδὲν δεόμενοι βουλῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἡλικίας ἐν τῇ φρονιμωτάτῃ ἐσμέν, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν διαφερόντων ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ φίλων οὐ σπανίζομεν, οἷς, ἐάν τι δέῃ, συμβούλοις
2 χρησόμεθα. παῦσαι δὴ πρᾶγμα ποιῶν ἄωρον, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος οὐ δεομένοις συμβουλῆς γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενος. τῷ 'Αππίῳ δ' εἴ τι βούλει παραινεῖν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαι—τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθέστερον —ὅταν ἐξέλθῃς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, λοιδορήσῃ. νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πολέμου, περὶ οὗ κέκλησαι γνώμην ἀποδειξόμενος,[2] ὅ τι σοι φαίνεται λέγε καὶ παῦσαι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγμα-
3 τος φλυαρῶν.'' μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνίσταται πάλιν ὁ Κλαύδιος κατηφὴς καὶ μεστοὺς ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύων καί φησιν· "'Αππιος μὲν οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως ἄξιον ἡγεῖταί με, ὦ[3] βουλή, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖον ἐναντίον ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέκλεισέ[4] μοι, καὶ τουτὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἄβατον ὅσονπερ[5] ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖ. εἰ δὲ χρὴ τὸ ἀληθὲς λέγειν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξε-
4 λαύνομαι. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἂν[6] αὐτὸν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι δυναίμην ὁρᾶν ἀνάξιον γεγονότα τῶν προγόνων καὶ τυραννικὴν ἐζηλωκότα παρανομίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνασκευασάμενος ἅπαντα τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἰς Σαβίνους ἄπειμι, πόλιν οἰκήσων 'Ρήγιλλον,[7] ἐξ ἧς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐστι, καὶ μενῶ τὸν λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ χρόνον ἕως ἂν οὗτοι κατέχωσι τὴν καλὴν ταύτην

[1] Jacoby : ὀλιγαρχιῶν LMV, ὀλιγαρχικῶν Steph.
[2] ἀποδειξάμενος LVM. [3] ὦ added by Sylburg.
[4] ἀπόκλεισον LV.

advanced and said: "We, Claudius, shall ourselves decide about our own interests without any need of your advice. For we are of the age best qualified for prudence, so that we are ignorant of nothing that concerns us, and we do not lack for friends whom we may take as advisers if necessary. Cease, then, doing an unseasonable thing in expressing your opinions as an older man to those who do not need advice. As for Appius, if you wish to give him any admonition or abuse—for this is the truer term for it—when you have left the senate-chamber, you may abuse him. For the present, state what you think about the war with the Aequians and Sabines, the matter regarding which you have been called upon to deliver your opinion, and cease talking idly of things that are beside the point." After him Claudius rose up again, with downcast countenance and with tears in his eyes, and said: "Appius does not think me, his uncle, worthy even of an answer, senators, in your presence; but, just as he shut his own house against me, so he does everything in his power to render the senate-chamber here inaccessible to me likewise. And if I must speak the truth, I am even driven out of the city. For I could no longer bear the sight of him, now that he has become unworthy of his ancestors and has emulated the lawlessness of tyrants, but removing all my effects and my household to the Sabines, I shall live at Regillum,[1] the city from which our family comes, and shall remain there for the future as long as these men continue

[1] *Cf.* v. 40, 3 ff. and Livy iii. 58, 1.

[5] ὅσονπερ Sylburg : ὥσπερ O, om. Jacoby.
[6] ἂν added by Kayser.
[7] Sylburg : ἰνρίλιον O.

ἀρχήν. ἐπειδὰν δ' οἷα μαντεύομαι περὶ τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν γένηται, γενήσεται δ' οὐκ εἰς μακράν, τότε παρέσομαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα· περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ταύτην ὑμῖν, ὦ βουλή, γνώμην ἀποδείκνυμαι,[1] μηδὲν ψηφίζεσθαι περὶ μηδενὸς πράγματος ἕως[2] ἀποδειχθῶσι νέαι[3] ἀρχαί." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ πολὺν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου κινήσας ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τῷ γενναίῳ καὶ φιλελευθέρῳ[4] τῆς γνώμης ἐκάθισε. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀναστὰς Λεύκιος Κοΐντιος ὁ καλούμενος[5] Κικιννᾶτος καὶ Τίτος Κοΐντιος Καπιτωλῖνος καὶ Λεύκιος Λουκρήτιος καὶ πάντες ἑξῆς οἱ πρωτεύοντες[6] τοῦ συνεδρίου τῇ Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσετίθεντο.

XVI. Ἐφ' ᾧ διαταραχθέντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον ἐβουλεύσαντο μηκέτι καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ βουλῆς ἀξίωσιν[7] συμβούλους καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκειότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑταιρίαν. καὶ παρελθὼν Μάρκος Κορνήλιος ἀνίστησι Λεύκιον Κορνήλιον τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὃς Κοΐντῳ Φαβίῳ Οὐιβουλανῷ συνυπάτευσε τὸ τρίτον ὑπατεύοντι, δραστήριον ἄνδρα καὶ πολιτικοὺς διεξελθεῖν λόγους οὐκ ἀδύνατον. οὗτος ἀναστὰς ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

2 "Θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἦν καὶ τοῦτ', ὦ βουλή, εἰ[8]

[1] Sintenis : ἀποδείκνυμι O. [2] ἕως LV : ἕως ἂν R.
[3] ἀποδειχθῶσι νέαι ἀρχαί Grasberger : ἀποδειχθῶσιν αἱ ἀρχαί O.
[4] φιλελευθερίῳ LV. [5] κόιντος καλούμενος LV.
[6] δέκα after οἱ πρωτεύοντες deleted by Glareanus, Sylburg; retained by Kiessling, Jacoby.
[7] βουλῆς ἀξίωσιν O : τιμῆς ἀξίωσιν Kiessling, ἀρετῆς ἀξίωσιν Cobet. But perhaps βουλῆς should be rejected outright as an interpolation due to the neighbouring ἐβουλεύσαντο or συμβούλους. For the omission of a genitive with ἀξίωσις in similar phrases see x. 50, 4; vi. 81, 2; vi. 35, 1. [8] εἰ VM : οἱ L.

in possession of this fine magistracy. But when the fate I foresee shall have overtaken the decemvirate—and it will overtake them soon—I shall then return. So much concerning myself. As to the war, I give you this advice, senators, to pass no vote concerning anything whatever until new magistrates are appointed." After he had thus spoken and received great applause from the senate for the noble spirit and the love of liberty that his words breathed, he sat down. And after him Lucius Quintius, surnamed Cincinnatus, Titus Quintius Capitolinus, Lucius Lucretius, and all the leading men [1] of the senate rose up one after another and supported the motion of Claudius.

XVI. Appius and his colleagues,[2] being disturbed at this, resolved no longer to call upon others for advice according to their age or senatorial rank,[3] but according to their friendship and attachment to themselves. And Marcus Cornelius, coming forward, asked Lucius Cornelius to rise,—his brother, who had been colleague to Quintus Fabius Vibulanus in his third consulship, a man of action and not without eloquence in political debates. This man, rising up, spoke as follows :

" This also was surprising, senators, that men of

[1] The MSS. have " all the ten leading men," probably due to confusion with the decemvirs.

[2] For chaps. 16–18 *cf.* Livy iii. 40, 8-14.

[3] It is uncertain whether the phrase *βουλῆς ἀξίωσιν*, given by the MSS., should be rendered " senatorial rank " or rather " reputation for (wise) counsel." The expression is unusual and has been challenged by more than one editor; see the critical note. If we reject *βουλῆς* as an interpolation, we shall have, in agreement with Dionysius' usage elsewhere, " according to their age or rank."

ταύτην ἔχοντες ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἣν[1] ἔχουσιν οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενοι καὶ πρωτεύειν ἀξιοῦντες τῶν συνέδρων, τὴν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν προσκρουσμάτων ἀπέχθειαν ἀδιάλλακτον πρὸς τοὺς προεστηκότας τῆς πόλεως οἴονται δεῖν φυλάττειν, οὓς ἐχρῆν[2] καὶ τοῖς νέοις παραινεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν ἀγῶνας, καὶ μὴ πολεμίους ἀλλὰ φίλους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ
3 τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀντιπάλους. πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου θαυμασιώτερόν ἐστιν εἰ τὰς ἰδίας ἀπεχθείας ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα μεταφέρουσι καὶ συναπολέσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐχθροῖς βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ σωθῆναι μετὰ πάντων τῶν φίλων. ὑπερβολὴ[3] γὰρ ἀνοίας τοῦτό γε[4] καὶ οὐ πόρρω θεοβλαβείας ὃ[5] πεποιήκασιν οἱ πρόεδροι τῆς βου-
4 λῆς ἡμῶν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἀγανακτοῦντες ὅτι μετιόντας αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν δέκα ἀρχήν, ἧς αὐτοὶ νῦν κατηγοροῦσιν, ἐνίκησαν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐπιτηδειότεροι φανέντες, ἀεὶ πολεμοῦσιν αὐτοῖς πόλεμον ἀδιάλλακτον, καὶ εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκουσιν εὐηθείας, μᾶλλον δὲ μανίας, ὥσθ', ἵνα τούτους διαβάλλωσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅλην ὑπομένουσιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν πα-
5 τρίδα· οἵ γ' ὁρῶντες μὲν ἀνάστατον[6] τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων γενομένην, ὁρῶντες δὲ ὅσον οὔπω καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐλεύσεσθαι (τὸ γὰρ διὰ μέσου χωρίον οὐ πολύ) ἀντὶ τοῦ παρα-

[1] ἣν added by Cobet, οἵαν by Kiessling.
[2] οἴονται δεῖν φυλάττειν, οὓς ἐχρῆν Post : οὓς ἐχρῆν οἷόν τε δεῖ (δεῖν M) φυλάττειν O; Jacoby did not attempt to emend this corrupt text.
[3] ὑπερβολὴ O : ὑπερβολὴν Jacoby.

the age of those who preceded me in declaring their opinions and claim to be the foremost men of the senate, think fit to maintain unrelenting their enmity,[1] derived from political clashes, toward those who are at the head of the commonwealth, when they ought to be exhorting the young men also to engage from the highest motives in competition for noble rewards, and to regard, not as enemies, but as friends, those who are their rivals in striving for the public good. And much more surprising still than this it is that they transfer their private animosities to the affairs of the commonwealth and choose rather to perish with their enemies than to be saved with all their friends. This is an excess of folly and not far from a Heaven-sent madness which the presiding officers of our senate have been guilty of. For these men, displeased because others who appeared more worthy defeated them at the election when they were candidates for the decemvirate,—a magistracy which they themselves now inveigh against,—continually wage an unrelenting war against them and have come to this pitch of folly, or rather of madness, that in order to slander these men to you they are willing to overthrow the whole country. For although they see that our land has been laid waste by our enemies and though they see that these foes will come almost immediately against Rome (the distance separating us is not great), instead of exhorting and

[1] This passage is badly corrupted in the MSS. The text of Post here adopted gives a satisfactory meaning and construction for the first time.

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[4] τοῦτό γε Casaubon : τούτοις O, Jacoby.
[5] δ̓ Naber : om. O, Jacoby.
[6] μὲν ἀνάστατον Sylburg : μετανάστατον O.

καλεῖν καὶ παρορμᾶν τοὺς νέους ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνα καὶ αὐτοὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ βοηθεῖν, ὅση γοῦν ἐν τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐστὶν ἰσχύς, περὶ πολιτείας κόσμου νῦν ἀξιοῦσιν ὑμᾶς σκοπεῖν καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν· καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δύνανται συνιδεῖν, ὅτι γνώμας ἀκαίρους[1] εἰσφέρουσι, μᾶλλον δ' εὐχὰς ἀδυνάτους λέγουσιν.[2]

XVII. "Σκοπεῖτε γὰρ οὑτωσί· προβούλευμα γενήσεται τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὲρ ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, ἔπειτ' ἐξοίσουσιν οἱ δέκα τὰ βουλευθέντα εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὁρίσαντες ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τρίτην. πῶς γὰρ ἂν[3] ἀληθῶς[4] γένοιτό[5] τι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ψηφιζομένων κύριον, ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ νόμους γένηται; ἔπειθ' ὅταν αἱ φυλαὶ διενέγκωσι τὴν ψῆφον, τότε αἱ νέαι παραλήψονται[6] τὴν πόλιν ἀρχαὶ καὶ προ-
2 θήσουσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν χρόνοις τοσούτοις οὖσιν, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἔλθωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ προσαγάγωσι τοῖς τείχεσι, τί ποιήσομεν, Κλαύδιε; ἐροῦμεν αὐτοῖς νὴ Δία· 'Μείναθ' ἕως ἂν ἀποδείξωμεν ἑτέρας ἀρχάς. Κλαύδιος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἔπεισε περὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου πράγματος μήτε προ-

[1] *ἀκαίρους* (or *ἀώρους*) added by Cary, *πονηρὰς* by Kiessling, *ἀσυμφόρους* by Grasberger, Jacoby. See note on translation.
[2] *λέγουσιν* (as in vi. 52, 2) Reiske : *ἔχουσιν* O, Jacoby; *ἀδυνάτως ἐχούσας* Smit.
[3] *ἂν* added by Casaubon.
[4] *ἄλλως* Casaubon.
[5] *γένηταί* VM.
[6] Sylburg : *παραιτοῦνται* or *παραιτοῦντας* O.

urging the young men to fight for their country and going themselves to her relief with all alacrity and enthusiasm, so far at least as there is strength in men so aged, they ask you now to consider the form of government, to create new magistrates, and to do everything rather than injure the enemy ; and they cannot see even this itself, that they are introducing inopportune [1] motions, or rather uttering impracticable wishes.

XVII. " For consider the matter in this light. There will be a preliminary vote of the senate for the election of magistrates ; then the decemvirs will lay this resolution before the people after appointing the third market-day thereafter for its consideration. For how can anything that is voted by the people become really valid if it is not done in accordance with the laws ? Then, after the tribes have given their votes, the new magistrates will take over the administration of the commonwealth and propose to you the consideration of the war. During the interval before the election, which will be such a long one, if our enemies march up to the city and approach the walls, what are we going to do, Claudius ? We shall say to them, by heaven : ' Wait until we have appointed other magistrates. For Claudius persuaded us neither to pass a preliminary decree concerning

[1] The adjective modifying " motions " has been lost from the Greek text. The words hitherto proposed, " bad " (or " mischievous ") by Kiessling, and " disadvantageous " by Grasberger (the latter a particularly attractive emendation palaeographically), would seem to be ruled out by the statement of Valerius in chap. 19, 5, that no one had ventured to call the motion disadvantageous. The motions should here be characterized, then, not as inherently objectionable, but rather as out of place at the moment, " inopportune " or " ill-timed."

βουλεύειν μήτ' εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐκφέρειν μήτε[1] δυνάμεις καταγράφειν, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
3 καταστήσωμεν ὡς βουλόμεθα. ἄπιτ' οὖν, καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσητε ὑπάτους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθείσας ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα πάντα γεγονότα ἡμῖν εὐτρεπῆ, τόθ' ἥκετε περὶ διαλλαγῶν ποιησόμενοι τοὺς λόγους, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ἤρξασθε ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν οὐδὲν προπεπονθότες ὑφ' ἡμῶν. καὶ ὅσα ἡμᾶς ἐβλάψατε κατὰ τὰς ἐμβολὰς εἰς χρημάτων λόγον, ἅπαντα ἐκ τοῦ
4 δικαίου διαλύσατε[2]· τὸν δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν ὄλεθρον οὐχ ὑπολογιούμεθα ὑμῖν, οὐδ' εἴ τινα γύναια ἐλεύθερα ὕβρεως καὶ παροινίας ἐπειράθη στρατιωτικῆς οὐδ' ἄλλο τῶν ἀνηκέστων οὐδέν.' κἀκεῖνοι ταῦτα προκαλουμένων ἡμῶν μετριάσουσι καὶ συγχωρήσαντες τῇ πόλει νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσασθαι, τότε ἥξουσιν ἱκετηρίας φέροντες ἀντὶ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ παραδιδόντες ἡμῖν[3] ἑαυτούς.

XVIII. "Ὦ πολλῆς μὲν εὐηθείας τούτων οἷς ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔρχεται τοιαῦτα ληρεῖν, πολλῆς δ' ἀναλγησίας ἡμῶν, εἰ τοιαῦτα λεγόντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένομεν ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ
2 ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος βουλευόμενοι. οὐκ ἀνελοῦμεν ἐκ μέσου τοὺς φλυάρους; οὐ ταχεῖαν ψηφιούμεθα τῇ ὑπονοθευομένῃ[4] χώρᾳ τὴν βοήθειαν; οὐ καθοπλιοῦμεν ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πόλεις αὐτοὶ στρατευσόμεθα; ἀλλ' οἴκοι μένοντες καὶ τοῖς δέκα λοιδορούμενοι καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς καθιστάντες καὶ περὶ κόσμου

[1] μηδὲ Kiessling. [2] διαλύσατε LV : ληψόμεθα M.

any other matter nor to lay anything else before the people nor to enrol forces until we have settled everything relating to the magistracies as we wish. Depart, therefore, and when you hear that the consuls and the other magistrates have been appointed and that we have all the necessary preparations made for war, then come and make your pleas for peace, since you injured us first without any provocation on our part. And for whatever damage you have caused us in your raids, so far as property is concerned, pay us in full in accordance with justice; but the slaying of our husbandmen and any insults and drunken abuse offered by your soldiers to women of free condition or any other irreparable mischief we shall not include in your account.' And they doubtless in response to this invitation of ours will show moderation, and after permitting us to choose new magistrates and to make our preparations for war, will then come with olive branches in their hands instead of arms and deliver themselves up to us!

XVIII. "Oh, the great folly of these men who can think of uttering such nonsense, and our own great stupidity if, when they say such things, we show no displeasure, but submit to hearing them, as if we were consulting in the interest of our enemies and not of ourselves and our country! Shall we not remove these triflers from our midst? Not vote speedy relief to the land that is being ravished? Not arm all the youth of Rome? Not march ourselves against the cities of our enemies? Or shall we stay at home and, abusing the decemvirs, installing new magistrates and considering a form of government

[3] *ὑμῖν* LV. [4] *ὑπονοθευομένῃ* O : *προνομευομένῃ* Sylburg.

πολιτικοῦ σκοποῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάντ' ἐάσομεν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γενέσθαι, καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύσομεν καὶ κατασκαφῆς τῆς πόλεως,[1] ἐάσαντες
3 τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθεῖν; οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιαινόντων ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοιαῦτα βουλεύματα, ὦ πατέρες, οὐδὲ προνοίας πολιτικῆς τὰ κοινὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπεχθειῶν ἡγουμένης ἀναγκαιότερα, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικίας ἀκαίρου καὶ δυσμενείας ἀβούλου καὶ φθόνου κακοδαίμονος, ὃς οὐκ ἐᾷ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὸν σωφρονεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν τούτων φιλονεικίας ἐάσατε χαίρειν· ἃ δὲ ψηφισάμενοι τῇ πόλει σωτήρια καὶ ὑμῖν[2] αὐτοῖς προσήκοντα ἔσεσθε βεβουλευμένοι καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φοβερά, ἐγὼ πει-
4 ράσομαι λέγειν. νῦν μὲν τὸν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πόλεμον ἐπικυρώσατε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις μετὰ πλείστης προθυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς καταγράφετε τὰς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους ἐξελευσομένας. ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος ἡμῖν τὸ κράτιστον λάβῃ καὶ ἀναστρέψωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αἱ δυνάμεις εἰρήνης γενομένης, τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας σκοπεῖτε, καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτεῖτε τοὺς δέκα περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔπραξαν καὶ νέας ἀρχὰς ψηφοφορεῖτε καὶ δικαστήρια καθίζετε καὶ τιμᾶτε τοὺς ἑκατέρου τούτων ἀξίους ὅταν ἐφ' ὑμῖν γένηται ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα, μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ καιροὶ δουλεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καιροῖς τὰ πράγματα."
5 Ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου Κορνηλίου τὴν[3] γνώμην οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνιστάμενοι χωρὶς ὀλίγων τῆς αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο προαιρέσεως, οἱ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ

[1] ὡς after πόλεως deleted by Reiske. [2] ἡμῖν L V.

as if we were at peace, let everything in the country fall into the enemy's hands, and at last run the hazard of being enslaved ourselves and seeing our city laid in ruins as the result of our having allowed the war to approach our walls ? Such counsels, fathers, are not those of men in their senses nor do they spring from the political foresight which regards the public advantages as more essential than private animosities, but rather from an unseasonable contentiousness, an ill-starred enmity, and an unfortunate envy which does not permit those who are under its influence to show sound judgement. Dismiss, however, from your minds the rivalries of these men ; but the measures which you should pass if your counsels are to prove salutary to the commonwealth, becoming to yourselves and formidable to our foes, I shall now attempt to indicate. For the present, vote your approval of the war against the Aequians and Sabines and enrol with the greatest alacrity and expedition the forces that are to set out against both. And after the war is terminated in the happiest manner for us and our forces return to the city upon the conclusion of peace, then not only consider the form of government, but also call the decemvirs to account for all their actions during their administration, vote for new magistrates and establish courts and honour with both these offices those who are worthy of them when both are in your power ; for you must know that opportunities do not wait upon events, but events upon opportunities."

When Cornelius had delivered this opinion, those who rose up after him were, with few exceptions, of the same advice, some looking upon these measures

[3] τὴν om. L.

τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ ταῦτα προσήκοντα ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι, οἱ δ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες τοὺς δέκα τῷ φόβῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἦν γάρ τι καὶ κατεπτηχὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος ἐκ τῶν συνέδρων.

XIX. Ὡς δ' αἱ πλείους γνῶμαι διηγορεύθησαν, καὶ παρὰ πολὺ κρατεῖν ἐδόκουν οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπικυροῦντες τῶν ἑτέρων, τότε Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐκάλουν, ὃν ἔφην εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς βουλόμενόν τι λέγειν κεκωλῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀναστὰς τοιούτους διεξῆλθε λόγους·

2 "Τὴν μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν δέκα ὁρᾶτε, ὦ πατέρες, οἳ κατ' ἀρχάς τ' οὐκ ἐπέτρεψάν μοι λέγειν ὅσα προηρούμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀποδεδώκασι λόγον, ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὅτι τῇ τε Κλαυδίου γνώμῃ προσθέμενος οὐδὲν ὠφελήσω τὸ κοινὸν ὀλίγων αὐτῇ συνειρηκότων, ἑτέραν τε γνώμην παρὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αὐτοῖς[1] ἀποφηνάμενος, κἂν τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθῶμαι, διὰ
3 κενῆς ἐρραψῳδηκὼς ἔσομαι. εὐαρίθμητοι γάρ τινές εἰσιν οἱ μετ' ἐμὲ ἀναστησόμενοι, οὓς ἐὰν ἅπαντας ὁμογνώμονας λάβω, τί γενήσεταί μοι πλέον οὐδὲ πολλοστὴν ἔξοντι μοῖραν τῶν Κορνηλίῳ συναγορευόντων; οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ ταῦθ' ὑφορώμενος ὀκνήσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην εἰπεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσητε πάντων, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται[2] τὰ κράτιστα
4 ἑλέσθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς δεκαδαρχίας, ὃν τρόπον ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν κοινῶν, ὅσα Κλαύδιος ὁ

[1] αὐτοῖς R : αὐτῆς L. [2] ἔσται Sylburg : ἔστι O.

[1] In chap. 4.

as necessary and suited to the present juncture, and others yielding to the times and paying court to the decemvirs through dread of their magistracy; for no small part of the senators actually stood in awe of their power.

XIX. After most of the senators had delivered their opinions and those who declared for war appeared to be much more numerous than the others, the decemvirs then called upon Lucius Valerius among the last. He was the one, as I have related,[1] who had wished to say something at the very beginning of the debate but had been prevented by them. And now rising, he delivered a speech of the following tenor:

"You see, fathers, the plot of the decemvirs who not only at first would not allow me to say to you all that I had proposed, but now have assigned to me my turn to speak among the last, with this in mind, as we may reasonably assume, that, if I concur in the opinion of Claudius, I shall render no service to the commonwealth, since few have supported it, and again, if I deliver an opinion different from those they themselves have expressed, however excellent my advice may be, I shall have recited my piece in vain. For those are easily counted who are to rise up after me, and even if I shall have them all agreeing with me, what advantage will it give me when I shall not have the smallest fraction of those who side with Cornelius? However, in spite of these misgivings I shall not hesitate to express my opinion. For when you have heard everybody, you will have it in your power to choose what is best. Concerning the decemvirs, therefore, and the manner in which they look after the commonwealth, consider that everything the

βέλτιστος εἶπε, καὶ ἐμοὶ νομίσατε εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ νέας ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι πρὶν ἢ τὸ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι ψήφισμα· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα
5 εἴρηται τῷ ἀνδρὶ κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορνήλιος εἰς τὸ ἀδύνατον ἀπάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν γνώμην πολλοὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ χρόνους ἀποφαίνων ταῖς πολιτικαῖς οἰκονομίαις γενησομένους ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ χλευάζειν ἐπεχείρει πράγματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια χλευασμῶν, οἷς παρακρουσάμενος ὑμᾶς τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤχετο φέρων, ἐγὼ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν Κλαυδίου γνώμην διαλέξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἀσύμφορος, οὐδὲ τῶν διασυράντων αὐτὴν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν· καὶ διδάξω πῶς ἂν ἥ τε χώρα δι' ἀσφαλείας γένοιτο καὶ δίκην δοῖεν οἱ τολμήσαντες αὐτὴν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀπολάβοιμεν ἀριστοκρατίαν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα γένοιτο συναγωνιζομένων ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μηδενὸς τἀναντία πράττειν ἀξιοῦντος, σοφίαν οὐδεμίαν[1] ἀποδεικνύμενος ὑμῖν,[2] τὰ δὲ πραχθέντα ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν παραδείγματα φέρων. ἔνθα γὰρ ἡ πεῖρα διδάσκει τὸ συμφέρον, τί δεῖ στοχασμῶν ἐκεῖ;

XX. "Μέμνησθε ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐθνῶν ὥσπερ[3] νῦν δυνάμεις ἐνέβαλον, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν, αἱ δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφότεραι χρόνον Γαΐου Ναυτίου καὶ Λευκίου Μηνυκίου[4] τὴν ὑπατείαν
2 ἐχόντων, ἔνατον ἢ δέκατον ἔτος οἶμαι τουτί. τότε

[1] After οὐδεμίαν Reiske added ἐμὴν, Cobet ἰδίαν.
[2] ὑμῖν La : ἡμῖν R. [3] ὥνπερ Sintenis.
[4] Μηνυκίου Cary, Μινυκίου Sylburg, Jacoby : γενυκίου O.

most excellent Claudius has said has been said by me also and that new magistrates ought to be chosen before any decree is passed concerning the war; for this point also was treated by him in the best manner. But since Cornelius endeavoured to show that his motion is impracticable, pointing out that the intervening period devoted to matters of civil administration would be a long one, while the war is at our doors, and since he attempted to ridicule things that do not deserve ridicule and by that means seduced and carried away most of you with him, I for my part shall also talk to you about the motion of Claudius, showing that it is not impracticable; for that it is disadvantageous no one even of those who derided it has ventured to allege. And I shall show you how our territory may be made secure, how those who have dared to do it injury may be punished, how we may recover our ancient aristocracy, and how these things may all come about at the same time with the concurrence of all the citizens and without the least opposition. All this I shall do, not through the display of any wisdom,[1] but by citing your own actions as precedents for you to follow; for where experience teaches what is advantageous, what need is there of conjectures?

XX. "You recall that forces from these same nations as at present made incursions, partly into our territory and partly into that of our allies, both at the same time, when Gaius Nautius and Lucius Minucius were consuls, some eight or nine[2] years ago I believe it was. When on that occasion you

[1] Or, following Cobet, "any special wisdom of my own."
[2] It was actually nine years earlier (456 B.C. by Dionysius' chronology). See x. 22 f.

τοίνυν ἀποστειλάντων ὑμῶν νεότητα πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὰ ἔθνη τῷ μὲν ἑτέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰς δυσχωρίας ἀναγκασθέντι κατακλεῖσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον πρᾶξαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐξεγένετο, πολιορκεῖσθαι δ' ἐν τῷ χάρακι καὶ κινδυνεύειν σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἁλῶναι· Ναυτίῳ δ' ἀντικαθημένῳ Σαβίνοις[1] μάχας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τίθεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχεῖς καὶ μηδ'[2] οἷῳ τ' εἶναι τοῖς κάμνουσι τῶν σφετέρων βοηθεῖν. ἦν τ' οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἐν Αἰκανοῖς στρατιᾶς ἀναρπασθείσης οὐδ' ἡ Σαβίνους πολεμοῦσα ἀνθέξει συνελθόντων 3 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοιούτων δὴ κινδύνων τὴν πόλιν περιστάντων καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐντὸς τείχους ὁμονοούντων τίνα βοήθειαν εὕρασθε ὑμεῖς, ἥπερ ὤνησεν ὁμολογουμένως πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ φερομένην τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἀτυχὲς πτῶμα ὤρθωσεν; περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελθόντες[3] ἀρχὴν ἀπεδείξατε[4] μίαν αὐτοκράτορα πολέμου καὶ[5] εἰρήνης, ἁπάσας τὰς ἄλλας καταλύσαντες ἀρχάς, καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι δικτάτωρ ἀπεδέδεικτο Λεύκιος Κοΐντιος ὁ βέλτι- 4 στος, οὐδ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τότ' ὤν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγρῷ. τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴστε δήπου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα, ὅτι καὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιοχρέους παρεσκευάσατο καὶ τὸ κινδυνεῦον στρατόπεδον ἐρρύσατο καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐτιμωρήσατο καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν[6] αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβε· καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα

[1] Sylburg : *σαβίνων* O, Jacoby.
[2] Jacoby : *μήθ'* O, *μηθὲν* Reiske.
[3] *περὶ μέσας νύκτας . . . συνελθόντες* placed here by Kiessling : after *ὑμεῖς* (2 lines above) by O, Jacoby.
[4] *ἀποδεῖξαι* LMV.
[5] *καὶ* M : *τῆς* LV.
[6] *αὐτῶν* R : *αὐτὸν* LV.

had sent out numerous and brave youths against both these nations, it chanced that one of the consuls, being obliged to encamp in a difficult position, was unable to accomplish anything, but was besieged in his camp and in danger of being captured for want of provisions, while Nautius, who was encamped against the Sabines, was under the necessity of fighting battles with the same foes continually and could not even go to the aid of his fellow Romans who were in distress. And there was no doubt that if the army which was encamped among the Aequians should be destroyed, the other, that was carrying on the war against the Sabines, would not be able to hold out either when both armies of our enemies should have united. When the commonwealth was encompassed by such dangers and even the people inside the city walls were not harmonious, what relief did you yourselves hit upon—a relief which is acknowledged to have helped your whole cause and to have rectified the commonwealth when it was rushing to a miserable downfall? Assembling in the senate-chamber about midnight, you created a single magistracy with absolute authority over both war and peace, abrogating all the other magistracies; and before day came, the most excellent Lucius Quintius had been appointed dictator, although he was not even in the city at the time, but in the country. You know, of course, the deeds which this man performed after that, how he got ready adequate forces, rescued the army which was in danger, chastised the enemy and took their general prisoner; and how, after accomplishing all this in only four-

μόναις ἅπαντα διαπραξάμενος καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο[1] σαθρὸν ἦν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπανορθωσάμενος ἀπέθετο τὰς ῥάβδους· καὶ τὸ κωλῦον[2] οὐδὲν ἐγένετο νέαν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυρωθῆναι μιᾷ βουλομένων ὑμῶν.
5 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παράδειγμα μιμησαμένους ἡμᾶς[3] οἴομαι δεῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, δικτάτορα ἑλέσθαι πρὶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελθεῖν· ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπερβαλώμεθα τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν, οὐκέτι συνάξουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ δέκα βουλευσομένους ὑπὲρ οὐδενός· ἵνα δὲ καὶ κατὰ νόμους ἡ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀνάρρησις γένηται, τὴν μεσοβασίλειον ἀρχὴν ἑλέσθαι, τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον[4] ἐκλέξαντας[5] τῶν πολιτῶν· ὃ ποιεῖν σύνηθές ἐστιν ὑμῖν ὅταν μήτε βασιλεῖς[6] ἔχητε μήτε ὑπάτους μήτ᾽ ἄλλην νόμιμον ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν, ὥσπερ νῦν οὐκ ἔχετε. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνδράσι τούτοις παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνος καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους
6 αὐτῶν ὁ νόμος ἀφῄρηται. ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν ἃ παραινῶ πράττειν, ὦ πατέρες, ὑμῖν, καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ δυνατά. ἣν δὲ Κορνήλιος εἰσηγεῖται γνώμην, κατάλυσις ὁμολογουμένη τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὑμῶν ἐστιν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἅπαξ ὅπλων οἱ δέκα γένωνται κύριοι τῇδε τῇ προφάσει τοῦ πολέμου, δέδοικα μὴ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς χρήσωνται. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀποθέσθαι τὰς ῥάβδους, ἦ πού γε τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθήσονται; λογιζόμενοι δὴ ταῦτα φυλάττεσθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν προβλέπετε. κρείττων γὰρ ἡ πρόνοια τῆς μεταμελείας καὶ τὸ μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς πονηροῖς σωφρονέστερον τοῦ προπιστεύσαντας κατηγορεῖν."

XXI. Ταύτην ἀποδειξαμένου τὴν γνώμην Οὐαλε-

[1] καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο LV : καὶ εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλο R.

[2] κολυεν (ον written above) V, κολύσον R. [3] Sylburg : ὑμᾶς O.

teen days and reforming whatever else was corrupt in the commonwealth, he laid down the rods. Nothing hindered you then from creating a new magistracy in one day when you wished to do so. This example, then, I think we ought to imitate, since there is nothing else we can do, and choose a dictator before we leave this chamber. For if we neglect this opportunity, the decemvirs will never assemble us again to deliberate about anything. And in order that the appointment of a dictator shall also be in accordance with the laws, we should create an *interrex*, choosing the most suitable person from among the citizens; for this is the customary thing for you to do when you have neither kings, consuls nor any other legal magistrates, which is the case at present, since these men's term of office has expired and the law has taken their rods from them. This is the course I advise you to take, fathers, one that is both advantageous and practicable; whereas the motion proposed by Cornelius is confessedly the overthrow of your aristocracy. For if the decemvirs once get arms in their hands under this excuse of the war, I fear they will use them against us. For is it at all likely that those who refuse to lay down their rods will lay down their arms? Taking these considerations into account, then, beware of these men and forestall any treachery on their part. For foresight is better than repentance, and it is more prudent not to trust wicked men than to accuse them after they have betrayed your trust."

XXI. This opinion of Valerius [1] pleased the

[1] *Cf.* Livy iii. 41, 1-6.

[4] Reiske : ἐπιτηδειότερον O.
[5] Kiessling : ἐκλέξαντες O.
[6] Sylburg : μεσοβασιλεῖς O.

ρίου κεχαρισμένην τοῖς πλείοσιν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν εἰκάσαι ῥᾴδιον ἦν,[1] καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνισταμένων (ἦν δ' αὐτῶν[2] τὸ νέον τῆς βουλῆς μέρος τὸ λειπόμενον) ταῦτα ἡγουμένων κράτιστα εἶναι πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἀπεδείξαντο τὰς ἑαυτῶν γνώμας καὶ τέλος ἔδει τὰ βουλεύματα λαβεῖν, Οὐαλέριος μὲν ἠξίου διαδικασίαν[3] τοὺς δέκα προθεῖναι ταῖς γνώμαις, αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάντας τοὺς βουλευτὰς καλοῦντας, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συνέδρων ἀναθέσθαι βουλομένοις τὰς προ-
2 τέρας ἀποφάσεις ταῦτα λέγων πιθανὸς ἦν· Κορνήλιος δ', ὁ συμβουλεύων[4] τοῖς δέκα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦ πολέμου, κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν ἀπεμάχετο, κεκρίσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη λέγων καὶ τέλος ἔχειν νόμιμον ἁπάντων ἐψηφικότων, ἠξίου τε διαριθμεῖν τὰς γνώμας καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι καινουργεῖν.
3 τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ὑφ' ἑκατέρου[5] μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας τε καὶ κραυγῆς, καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου διαστάντος πρὸς ἑκάτερον, τῶν μὲν ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῦ πολιτεύματος βουλομένων τῷ Οὐαλερίῳ συλλαμβανόντων, τῶν δὲ τὰ χείρω προαιρουμένων καὶ ὅσοις κίνδυνός τις ὑπωπτεύετο ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἔσεσθαι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ συναγορευόντων, λαβόντες ἀφορμὴν οἱ δέκα τοῦ πράττειν ὅ τι δόξειεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ συνεδρίου ταραχήν, τῇ Κορνηλίου προστίθενται γνώμῃ. καὶ παρελθὼν
4 εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν, Ἄππιος, ἔφη· "Περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Σαβίνους πολέμου συνεκαλέσαμεν ὑμᾶς, ὦ βουλή, διαγνωσομένους, καὶ λόγον ἀπεδώκαμεν ἅπασι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων

[1] ἦν Sylburg : εἴη O ; Vassis would delete ῥᾴδιον εἴη.
[2] αὐτῶ LV.

majority of the senators, as was easy to conclude from their acclamations ; and since those who rose up after him (those still remaining were the younger members of the senate) with few exceptions considered his measures the best, as soon as they all had delivered their own opinions and the discussion was due to be ended, Valerius asked the decemvirs to propose a division on the various opinions by calling upon all the senators over again from the beginning, and this request met with the approval of many of the senators who desired to retract their former opinions. But Cornelius, who advised giving the command of the war to the decemvirs, strenuously opposed this, declaring that the matter was already decided and legally ended, since all had voted ; and he demanded that the votes be counted and that no further innovation be admitted. When these proposals were urged by both men with great contention and shouting, and the senate split toward one side and the other, the party desiring to correct the disorder in the government backing Valerius, and the party which espoused the worse cause and suspected that there would be some danger from the change giving their support to Cornelius, the decemvirs, taking advantage of the dissension in the senate to do as they saw fit, sided with the opinion of Cornelius. And Appius, one of their number, coming forward, said : " It was the war with the Aequians and Sabines, senators, which we called you together to deliberate about, and we have given all of you who so desired leave to speak, calling upon each one from the fore-

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[3] *ἀναδικασίαν* Reiske.
[4] *συμβουλεύων* Mb : *συμβασιλεύων* LVMa.
[5] Kiessling : *ἑκατέρων* O.

ἄχρι τῶν νεωτάτων ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι καλοῦντες ἕκαστον τόπῳ. τριῶν δ' ἀποδειξαμένων γνώμας διαφόρους, Κλαυδίου τε καὶ Κορνηλίου καὶ Οὐαλερίου τελευταίου, διέγνωτε[1] περὶ αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς οἱ λοιποί, καὶ παριὼν[2] ἕκαστος ἀπεφήνατο πάντων
5 ἀκουόντων ᾗ προσετίθετο γνώμῃ. ἁπάντων δὴ γεγονότων κατὰ νόμον,[3] ἐπειδὴ τοῖς πλείοσιν ὑμῶν Κορνήλιος ἐδόκει τὰ κράτιστα ὑποθέσθαι, τοῦτον ἀπεφηνάμεθα νικᾶν καὶ τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τούτου γνώμην γράψαντες ἐκφέρομεν. Οὐαλέριος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ συνεστῶτες[4] ὅταν αὐτοὶ τύχωσιν ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς, δίκας τ' ἤδη τέλος ἐχούσας ἀναδίκους ποιείτωσαν, ἐὰν αὐτοῖς φίλον ᾖ, καὶ βουλεύματα διεγνωσμένα ὑπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν
6 ἄκυρα καθιστάτωσαν." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν γραμματέα κελεύσας ἀναγνῶναι τὸ προβούλευμα, ἐν ᾧ τὴν καταγραφὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ[5] καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς δέκα παραλαβεῖν ἐτέτακτο, διέλυσε τὸν σύλλογον.

XXII. Μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν τῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς ἑταιρίας σοβαροὶ καὶ θρασεῖς περιῆσαν ὡς δὴ κρείττους τῶν ἑτέρων γεγονότες καὶ διαπεπραγμένοι μηκέτι καταλυθῆναι σφῶν[6] τὴν δυναστείαν ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ ὅπλων καὶ στρατιᾶς[7] γένωνται κύριοι·
2 οἱ δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ κοινῷ φρονοῦντες, ἀνιαρῶς διακείμενοι καὶ περιφόβως ὡς[8] οὐδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἔτι γενησόμενοι κύριοι, διέστησαν[9] εἰς μέρη πολλά, τῶν μὲν ἀγεννεστέρων τὰς φύσεις ἅπαντα συγχωρεῖν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἀναγκαζομένων καὶ

[1] διέγνωτε Sylburg : διέγνω τὰς LV.
[2] παριὼν Reiske : περὶ ὧν LV.
[3] Kiessling : νόμων L, νόμους M.
[4] Cobet : ἑστῶτες O, Jacoby.

most down to the youngest in the proper order. And three senators having given different opinions, namely Claudius, Cornelius, and last of all Valerius, the rest of you have come to your decision concerning them and each one has come forward and declared in the hearing of all which opinion he supported. Everything, therefore, having been done according to law, since the majority of you thought that Cornelius gave the best advice, we declare that he prevails, and we are engrossing and publishing the motion he made. Let Valerius and those who are leagued with him, when they shall obtain the consular power themselves, grant a rehearing, if they like, to causes already determined and annul resolutions passed by you all." Having said this and ordered the clerk to read the preliminary decree, in which it had been ordered that the enrolling of the army and the command of the war should be assumed by the decemvirs, he dismissed the meeting.

XXII. After that those of the oligarchical faction went about swaggering and insolent, as if they had gained a victory over their adversaries and had contrived that their power could no longer be overthrown when once they should be in control of arms and an army. But the men who had the best interests of the commonwealth at heart were in great distress and consternation, imagining that they should never again have any share in the government. These split into many groups, those of less noble dispositions feeling obliged to yield all to the victors and join the

[5] *ποιεῖσθαι* added after *στρατοῦ* by Reiske.
[6] *μηκέτι καταλυθῆναι σφῶν* L : *μὴ σφῶν καταλυθῆναι* R.
[7] *καὶ στρατιᾶς* L : om. R.
[8] *ὡς* added by Reiske.
[9] *διέστησαν* Kiessling : *καὶ διέστησαν* O, Jacoby.

κατανέμειν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰς ὀλιγαρχικὰς ἑταιρίας,[1] τῶν δ' ἧττον ψοφοδεῶν ἀφισταμένων τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδος καὶ[2] τὸν ἀπράγμονα βίον μεθαρμοττομένων· ὅσοις δὲ πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς τρόποις ἦν ἰδίας ἑταιρίας κατασκευαζομένων καὶ συμφρονούντων ἐπὶ φυλακῇ[3] τε ἀλλήλων καὶ
3 μεταστάσει[4] τῆς πολιτείας. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑταιριῶν ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τολμήσαντες ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς δεκαδαρχίας εἰπεῖν, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Μάρκος Ὁράτιος, φραξάμενοί τε τὰς οἰκίας ὅπλοις καὶ φυλακὴν θεραπόντων καὶ πελατῶν καρτερὰν περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡς μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ[5] βιαίου παθεῖν μηθὲν μήτ'
4 ἐκ τοῦ δολίου.[6] ὅσοις δ' οὔτε θεραπεύειν τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἐξουσίαν βουλομένοις ἦν οὔτε μηδενὸς ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ'[7] ἐν ἀπράκτῳ ζῆν ἡσυχίᾳ καλὸν[8] ἐδόκει, πολεμεῖν τ' ἀνὰ κράτος (οὐ ῥᾴδιον γὰρ καθαιρεθῆναι δυναστείαν τηλικαύτην) ἀνόητον[9] ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, κατέλιπον τὴν πόλιν. ἡγεμὼν δὲ τούτων ἀνὴρ ἦν[10] ἐπιφανὴς Γάιος Κλαύδιος, ὁ τοῦ κορυφαιοτάτου τῆς δεκαδαρχίας Ἀππίου θεῖος, ἐμπεδῶν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀξιῶν οὐκ ἔπεισεν.

[1] καὶ κατανέμειν . . . ἑταιρίας om. M.
[2] καὶ O : καὶ εἰς Cobet.
[3] φυλακῆς VL.
[4] Reiske : μεταναστάσει O.
[5] μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ L : μήτε τι τοῦ VM.
[6] μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ δολίου R : μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ δειλίαν καταγνωσθῆναι M.
[7] οὐδ' Jacoby : οὔτ' O, καὶ Cobet.
[8] Sylburg : καλῶς O.
[9] (οὐ ῥᾴδιον γὰρ κ. δ. τηλικαύτην) ἀνόητον Post : οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ἐπεὶ κ. δ. τηλικαύτην ἀνόητον O, Jacoby, ἀνόητον, ἐπεὶ κ. δ.

oligarchical bands, and such as were less timorous abandoning their concern for the public interests in exchange for a carefree life; but those who had great nobility of character employed themselves in organizing bands of their own and planning together for their mutual defence and for a change in the form of government. The leaders of these groups were the men who had first dared to speak in the senate in favour of abolishing the decemvirate, namely Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius; and they had surrounded their houses with armed men and had about their persons a strong guard of their servants and clients, so as to suffer no harm from either violence or treachery. Those persons, again, who were unwilling either to court the power of the victors or to pay no attention to any of the business of the commonwealth and to lead a quiet, carefree life, and to whom the carrying on of open warfare, since it was not easy for so great a power to be overthrown, seemed to be senseless,[1] quitted the city. At the head of these was a distinguished man, Gaius Claudius, uncle to Appius, the chief of the decemvirate, who by this step fulfilled the promises he had made to his nephew in the senate when he advised but failed to persuade him to resign his power. He was followed

[1] The MSS. have "and for whom the carrying on of open warfare was not easy, since for so great a power to be overthrown seemed to be senseless." In place of "senseless" Sylburg proposed to read "impossible," Reiske "endless" (an endless task). Kiessling wished to transpose "not easy" and "senseless." Post's emendation, adopted in the text, accomplishes the same result by a simpler change.

τηλικαύτην οὐ ῥᾴδιον Kiessling. In place of ἀνόητον Sylburg proposed ἀδύνατον, Reiske ἀνήνυτον.

[10] ἦν added by Sintenis.

5 ἠκολούθει δ' αὐτῷ πολὺς μὲν ἑταίρων ὄχλος, πολὺς δὲ πελατῶν. τούτου δ' ἀρξαμένου καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πολιτικὸν πλῆθος οὐκέτι λάθρα καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ ἀθρόον[1] ἐξέλιπε τὴν πατρίδα, τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον ἀγανακτοῦντες τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν κωλύειν πύλας τ' ἀποκλείσαντες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τινὰς συναρπάσαντες· ἔπειτα —δέος γὰρ εἰσῆλθεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρὸς ἀλκὴν οἱ κωλυόμενοι τράπωνται, καὶ λογισμὸς ὀρθὸς ὡς κρεῖττον εἴη σφίσιν ἐκποδὼν εἶναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ μένοντας ἐνοχλεῖν—ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἀφῆκαν τοὺς θέλοντας ἀπιέναι, οἰκίας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλήρους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑπελείπετο ἀδύνατα ὄντα ἐν φυγαῖς φέρεσθαι λειποστρατίαν ἐπενεγκόντες ἐδήμευσαν τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἑταίροις ὡσανεὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου πριαμένοις ἐχαρίσαντο.
6 ταῦτα δὴ[2] τὰ ἐγκλήματα προστεθέντα[3] τοῖς προτέροις πολλῷ δυσμενεστέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν τοὺς πατρικίους καὶ τοὺς δημοτικούς. εἰ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ἐπεξήμαρτον ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις, δοκοῦσιν ἄν μοι πολὺν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας διαμεῖναι χρόνον· ἡ γὰρ φυλάττουσα τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῶν στάσις ἔτι διέμενεν[4] ἐν τῇ πόλει, διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ ἐκ[5] πολλῶν αὐξηθεῖσα χρόνων, δι' ἣν ἔχαιρον ἑκάτεροι τοῖς ἀλλήλων
7 κακοῖς· οἱ μὲν δημοτικοὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῶν πατρικίων τεταπεινωμένον ὁρῶντες καὶ τὴν βουλὴν οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν κοινῶν οὖσαν κυρίαν, οἱ δὲ πα-

[1] ἀθρόον MV : ἀθρόου L.
[2] δὴ added by Portus.
[3] προστιθέντα VM.
[4] διέμεινεν VM.
[5] ἐκ LV : διὰ M.

by a large crowd of his friends and likewise of his clients. Following his lead, the multitude also of citizens that were left, no longer privately or in small groups, but openly and in a body, abandoned their country, taking with them their wives and children. Appius and his colleagues, being vexed at this, endeavoured at first to stop them by closing the gates and arresting some of the people. But afterwards, becoming afraid lest those they were attempting to stop should turn and defend themselves, and rightly judging it to be better for themselves that their enemies should be out of the way than that they should remain and make trouble, they opened the gates and permitted all who so wished to depart; as for the houses and estates, however, and all the other things that they left behind because they could not carry them away in their flight, the decemvirs nominally confiscated these to the treasury, bringing against their owners a charge of desertion, but in reality they bestowed these possessions on their own followers, pretending that the latter had purchased them from the public. These grievances, added to the former, greatly inflamed the hostility of the patricians and plebeians against the decemvirs. If, now, they had not added any fresh crime to those I have related, I think they might have retained the same power for a considerable time; for the sedition which maintained that power still continued in the city and had been increased by many causes and by the great length of time it had lasted, and because of the sedition each of the two parties rejoiced in the other's misfortunes, the plebeians in seeing the spirit of the patricians humbled and the senate no longer possessing authority over any of the business of state, and

τρίκιοι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκότα τὸν δῆμον καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἔχοντα ἰσχὺν ἐξ οὗ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα ἀφείλαντο· αὐθαδείᾳ δὲ πολλῇ πρὸς ἄμφω τὰ μέρη χρώμενοι καὶ οὔτ' ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου μετριάζοντες οὔτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει σωφρονοῦντες ὁμονοῆσαι πάντας ἠνάγκασαν καὶ καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, ὅπλων γενηθέντας
8 κυρίους διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. τὰ δ' ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῶν τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ δι' ἃ κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου (τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα προπηλακίζοντες ἐξηγρίωσαν) τοιάδε ἦν.

XXIII. Ὅτε τὸ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ψήφισμα ἐκύρωσαν, καταγράψαντες ἐν τάχει τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τριχῇ νείμαντες δύο μὲν τάγματα κατέλιπον ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλακῆς τῶν ἐντὸς τείχους ἕνεκεν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν δύο τούτων ταγμάτων Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ὁ προεστηκὼς τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Σπόριος Ὄππιος.[1] τρία δὲ ἔχοντες ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ Σαβίνους Κόιντος Φάβιος καὶ Κόιντος Ποιτέ-
2 λιος[2] καὶ Μάνιος Ῥαβολήιος. πέντε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τάγματα παραλαβόντες Μάρκος τε Κορνήλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Μηνύκιος καὶ Μάρκος Σέργιος καὶ Τίτος Ἀντώνιος καὶ τελευταῖος Καίσων Δουέλλιος ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς πόλεμον ἀφίκοντο· συνεστρατεύετο δ' αὐτοῖς Λατίνων τε καὶ ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπικουρικὸν οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐχώρει κατὰ νοῦν τοσαύτην μὲν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἐπαγομένοις, τοσαύτην
3 δὲ συμμαχίαν. οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν, ὅτι νεοσύλλεκτοι ἦσαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι, πλησίον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ τάς τ' ἀγορὰς ἀγομένας ἀφῃροῦντο λοχῶντες τὰς ὁδοὺς

the patricians in seeing the people stripped of their liberty and without the least strength since the decemvirs had taken from them the tribunician power. But the decemvirs, by treating both parties with great arrogance and by showing neither moderation in the army nor self-restraint in the city, forced the parties to unite and to abolish their magistracy as soon as the war had put arms into their hands. Their last crimes, for which they were overthrown by the people, whom they had particularly enraged by their abuses, were as follows.

XXIII. After they had secured the ratification of the decree of the senate for the war,[1] they hastily enrolled their forces and divided them into three bodies. Two legions they left in the city to keep guard over matters inside the walls; and Appius Claudius, the chief of the oligarchy, together with Spurius Oppius commanded these two. Quintus Fabius, Quintus Poetelius and Manius Rabuleius marched out with three legions against the Sabines. Marcus Cornelius, Lucius Minucius, Marcus Sergius, Titus Antonius, and last, Caeso Duilius, taking over the five remaining legions, arrived for the campaign against the Aequians. They were accompanied by an auxiliary force both of Latins and other allies that was as large as the citizen army. But nothing succeeded according to their plans, even though they were leading such large forces of both their own and allied troops. For their foes, despising them because their troops were new recruits, encamped over against them, and placing ambuscades in the roads, cut off the provisions that were being brought to them and

[1] For chaps. 23–24, 1 *cf.* Livy iii. 41, 7–42, 7.

[1] ἄππιος VM. [2] ποντέλλιος O.

καὶ ἐπὶ προνομὰς ἐξιοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἱππεῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθοιεν ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς καὶ φάλαγξ[1] πρὸς φάλαγγα μαχόμενοι πανταχῇ πλέον ἔχοντες ἀπήεσαν, ἐθελοκακούντων οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς καὶ οὔτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι πειθομένων οὔτε ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις
4 βουλομένων. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σαβίνους στρατεύσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι κακοῖς σωφρονισθέντες ἑκόντες ἔγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν χάρακα· καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἀναστήσαντες τὸν στρατὸν ἀπῆγον ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν, φυγῇ παραπλησίαν ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀνάζευξιν, ἕως ἐπὶ πόλιν Κρουστομερίαν, ἥ ἐστιν οὐ πρόσω τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ[2] τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας θέμενοι τὴν παρεμβολὴν πολλὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοντες ὑπὸ[3] τῶν πολεμίων πληγὰς καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ μένειν ἀξιοῦντες ὡς ἐπανορθωσόμενοι[4] τὰς
5 ἐλαττώσεις οἴκτιστα πράγματα ἔπαθον. ὡσάμενοι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τοὺς ὑποστάντας τοῦ χάρακος καταβαλόντες ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἐρυμάτων· καὶ καταλαβόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλίγους μέν τινας ἀμυνομένους ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ διασωθέντες ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τραυματίαι τε οἱ πλείους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα μικροῦ δεῖν πάντες ἀπολωλεκότες εἰς πόλιν Τύσκλον ἀφικνοῦντο· σκηνὰς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ χρήματα καὶ θεράποντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν οἱ πολέμιοι διήρπασαν.
6 ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη ταῦτα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅσοιπερ[5] ἦσαν ἐχθροὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ οἱ τέως

[1] καὶ φάλαγξ added by Kiessling. [2] ἀργιδίῳ O.
[3] ὑπὸ L : παρὰ R, ἀπὸ Tegge.

attacked them when they went out for forage ; and whenever cavalry clashed with cavalry, infantry with infantry, and phalanx against phalanx, the Sabines always came off superior to the Romans, not a few of whom voluntarily played the coward in their encounters and not only disobeyed their officers but refused to come to grips with the foe. Those, accordingly, who had set out against the Sabines, grown wise amid these minor misfortunes, resolved to quit their entrenchments of their own accord ; and breaking camp about midnight, they led the army back from the enemy's territory into their own, making their withdrawal not unlike a flight, till they came to the city of Crustumerium, which is not far from Rome. But those who had made their camp at Algidum in the country of the Aequians, when they too had received many blows at the hands of the enemy and still resolved to stand their ground in the midst of these dangers in hopes of retrieving their reverses, suffered a most grievous disaster. For the enemy, having thrust forward against them and cleared the palisades of those who defended them, mounted the ramparts, and possessing themselves of the camp, killed some few while fighting but destroyed the greater part in the pursuit. Those who escaped from this rout, being most of them wounded and having almost all lost their arms, came to the city of Tusculum ; but their tents, beasts of burden, money, slaves, and the rest of their military provisions became the prey of the enemy. When the news of this defeat was brought to the people in Rome, all who were enemies of the oligarchy and those who had hitherto

[4] *ἐπανορθωσάμενοι* LV.
[5] *ὅσοιπερ* Kiessling : *ὅσοι γὰρ* O, *ὅσοι μὲν* Sylburg.

vigorous and prompt precautionary measures because of the magnitude of the danger. He added that the informant was not just an ordinary citizen, but a man whom the senators themselves because of his merits had placed in a position of the greatest and most essential service to the state, having satisfied themselves of his good faith and his zeal for the public interests as shown by his deportment throughout his whole life. Then, when the senate was quite wrought up with expectation, he called Minucius, who said: [The MS. adds: See the section on Harangues.]

II. When the information had been given to the senate, they chose a dictator, and he, [having appointed] his Master of Horse, ordered him to come to him with the knights about midnight, and he ordered the senators to assemble on the Capitol while it was still early morning; he commanded Minucius to appear before the tribunal bringing along the informer and the proofs as well, and bade all to keep these plans secret from everybody outside the senate, declaring that there was just one means of safety, which was for Maelius to hear naught of what was being said or done about him. After making all the other necessary arrangements, he kept all the members in the senate-house until sunset, and only dismissed the session when it was already dark. When it was midnight, setting out from his house . . . he went forth about dawn, taking along the chosen forces of both consuls and the consuls themselves. These together with the senators seized the Capitol at dawn and kept it under guard.

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[5] Lacuna recognized by Edd. [6] ἐξίει S.
[7] ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων Kiessling.
[8] Müller: ἔξωθεν S.

Ὁ δὲ Μαίλιος οὐδὲν ἀκηκοὼς τούτων ἡμέρας γενομένης προελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καθεζόμενος· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ὁ ἵππαρχος Σερουίλιος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους τῶν ἱππέων ἔχοντας ὑπὸ[1] τοῖς ἱματίοις ξίφη καὶ στὰς πλησίον αὐτοῦ
4 λέγει· "Ὁ δικτάτωρ σε κελεύει, Μαίλιε, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥκειν"· κἀκεῖνος ὑποτυχών, "Ποῖος," ἔφη, "κελεύει με, Σερουίλιε, δικτάτωρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ὁ ποῦ[2] καὶ πότε γενόμενος;" καὶ ἅμα διαταραχθεὶς περιέβλεψεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα. ἀφασίας δὲ ἅπαντας κατασχούσης διὰ τὸ μηδένα γινώσκειν τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς λέγει πάλιν ὁ Σερουίλιος· "Εἰσηγγέλθης χθὲς εἰς τὴν βουλήν, ὦ Μαίλιε, νεωτέροις ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμασιν, ἴσως οὐκ ἀληθῶς· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἄξιον ἀπὸ τῆς
5 αἰτίας προκαταγινώσκειν. ταύτην ἐξετάσαι τὴν μήνυσιν ἡ βουλὴ προελομένη δικτάτορος ἔφησε δεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς οὐ τὸν ἐλάχιστον τῶν κινδύνων τρέχουσα, καὶ ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης κύριον Λεύκιον Κοΐντιον Κικιννᾶτον, ὃν οἶσθα δήπου καὶ σὺ κράτιστον ὄντα τῶν πατρικίων καὶ δὶς ἤδη ταύτην ἀνεπιλήπτως τετελεκότα τὴν
6 ἀρχήν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ δικαστήριόν σοι καθίσαι καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦναι βουλόμενος ἀπέσταλκεν ἡμᾶς, ἐμὲ τὸν ἵππαρχον ἅμα τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἄξοντάς[3] σε ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν πέποιθας, ἴθι καὶ λέγε τὰ δίκαια περὶ σαυτοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν, ὃς οὔτε διὰ τὸν κοινὸν φθόνον οὔτε δι' ἄλλην ἄδικον πρόφασιν

[1] ὑπὸ Edd. : ἐπὶ S. [2] ὁ ποῦ Feder : ὅπου S.
[3] Müller : ἄξοντά S.

Maelius, who had heard nothing of all this, proceeded to the Forum when day had come, and seated upon the tribunal, gave advice to those who consulted him. In a short time the Master of Horse, Servilius, appeared before him with the flower of the knights, who carried swords under their clothing; and halting near him, he said: "The dictator commands you, Maelius, to come to him." And the other, answering, said: "What dictator, Servilius, commands me to go to him? Where and when did he become dictator?" At the same time he looked round in consternation at the people surrounding the tribunal. When all were speechless, inasmuch as no one was aware of the action taken by the senate, Servilius said once more: "An act of impeachment was brought against you yesterday before the senate, Maelius, for attempting a revolution; perhaps the charge was false, for it is not right to prejudge anyone on the basis of the charge alone. The senate, having decided to investigate the report, declared that the situation required a dictator, since they were running no slight risk; and they invested with this authority Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, who, as you yourself are doubtless aware, is the best of the patricians and has twice already discharged the duties of this magistracy in an irreproachable manner. This man, desiring to set up a court to try you and to give you an opportunity to defend yourself, has sent us—me, the Master of Horse, together with these men here—to conduct you in safety to make your defence. If you are confident you have done no wrong, come and offer your justification before a man who loves his country and will not wish to put you out of the way either because of the general ill will toward you or

7 οὐδεμίαν ἐκποδὼν ποιῆσαί σε[1] βουλήσεται." ὁ δ' ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἀναπηδᾷ[2] τε καὶ μεγάλα ἀναβοήσας, "'Ανδρες," ἔφη, "δημοτικοί, βοηθεῖτέ μοι συναρπαζομένῳ[3] διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ δίκην καλοῦμαι[4] πρὸς αὐτῶν,[5] ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάνατον καλοῦμαι.[4]" βοῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ θορύβου πολλοῦ περὶ τὸ βῆμα, συγγνοὺς ὅτι πλείους εἰσὶ τῶν βοηθούντων οἱ συλλαμβάνειν μέλλοντες αὐτόν, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἑτέρους ὑποκαθῆσθαι[6] ἐν ὅπλοις, καταπηδᾷ ταχέως ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐχώρει δρόμῳ σπεύ-
8 δων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καταφυγεῖν. καταλαμβανόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς ἐργαστήριον εἰστρέχει μαγειρικὸν καὶ κοπίδα τῶν κρεοκόπων ἁρπάσας παίει τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῷ προσελθόντα. ἔπειτα πολλῶν ἐπιπεσόντων ἀθρόων[7] ἀμυνόμενος καὶ βραχὺν ἀντισχὼν χρόνον ἀπεκόπη ὑπό τινος τὸν βραχίονα καὶ πίπτει καὶ κατακοπεὶς ὥσπερ θηρίον ἀποθνήσκει.

9 Μαίλιος μὲν δὴ μεγάλων ὀρεχθεὶς πραγμάτων καὶ μικροῦ πάνυ δεήσας τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν κατασχεῖν οὕτως ἀζήλου καὶ πικρᾶς καταστροφῆς ἔτυχεν. ἐξενεχθέντος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ γενηθέντος πᾶσι φανεροῦ δρόμος ἦν καὶ βοὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἁπάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, τῶν μὲν οἰκτειρόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀγανακτούντων, τῶν δὲ
10 ὁμόσε τοῖς δεδρακόσι[8] χωρεῖν ἐσπουδακότων. τοι-

[1] Edd. : ποιήσεσαι S.
[2] Feder : ἀναπήδα S, ἀνεπήδα Müller.
[3] ἀναρπαζομένῳ (*cf.* chap. 4, 1) Cobet.
[4] καλοῦμαι is spurious in one of these two lines. Kiessling

on any other unjust ground." Maelius, upon hearing this, leaped up and cried out in a loud voice: "Plebeians, help me; for I am being snatched away by the men in power because of my goodwill toward you. For it is not to a trial that I am summoned by them, but to death." When a clamour arose and there was a great uproar round the tribunal, Maelius, aware that those who were intending to arrest him were more numerous than those who were rallying to his aid and that not far away others were lying in wait under arms, quickly leaped down from the tribunal and ran off through the Forum in his haste to reach the refuge of his own home. But when he was being overtaken by the knights, he ran into a butcher's shop, and seizing a cleaver used by the meat-cutters, he struck the first man who approached him. Then, when many fell upon him at once, he defended himself and held out for a short time; but soon his arm was cut off by someone and he fell down, and being hacked in pieces, died like a wild beast.

Thus Maelius, who craved greatness and came very close to gaining the leadership over the Roman people, came to an unenviable and bitter end. When his body had been carried into the Forum and exposed to the view of all the citizens, there was a rush thither and a clamour and uproar on the part of all who were in the Forum, as some bewailed his fate, others angrily protested, and still others were eager to come to blows with the perpetrators of the deed. The dictator,

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simply deleted the first, while de Boor thought the second had replaced another verb.

[5] Kiessling: *αὐτὸν* S.

[6] Feder: *ὑποκαθιεῖσθαι* S.

[7] Feder: *ἀθρόον* S.

[8] *τοῖς δεδρακόσι* Müller: *τῶν δεδρακότων* S.

αὐτης δὲ ταραχῆς γενομένης μαθὼν ὁ δικτάτωρ ὅτι διαπέπρακται τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τὸ προσταχθὲν ἔργον, κατέβαινεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τούς τε βουλευτὰς ἐπαγόμενος ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχων γυμνὰ φαίνοντας[1] ξίφη· καὶ δημηγορήσας ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἀπέλυσε τὸν ὄχλον. *Esc.*

III. (1) " . . . ἔχων περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἐξ ἁπάσης συνειλεγμένους κακίας, οὓς ἐσίτιζεν ὥσπερ θηρία κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑπήκουσέ μοι καὶ παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις μένοντα, μεγίστην ἂν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ παρέσχε ῥοπὴν εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ τεκμήριον οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἦν τοῦ μηδὲν[2] βεβουλεῦσθαι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλαυνόμενος, ὃ πάσχουσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τὰς ἀνοσίους βουλὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων σφίσι ποιησάμενοι, τοῦτο ἔπαθε[3]· φυγεῖν[4] τὸν ἔλεγχον ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς ἥκοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι παίων ἀπήλαυνεν . . ." *Ambr.*

IV. Τῶν δὲ δημοτικῶν οἱ μὲν οὐ[5] συμβουλεύσαντες ἐπὶ[6] τῇ καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας ἠγανάκτουν καὶ δι' ὀργῆς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ κοινωνήσαντες τῆς συνωμοσίας ἀφειμένοι τοῦ φόβου χαίρειν τε προσεποιοῦντο καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπῄνουν· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ πονηρότατοι λογοποιεῖν ἐτόλμων ἐν ταῖς ἑξῆς ἡμέραις ὡς ἀνηρπασμένου πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν τοῦ Μαιλίου καὶ διαστασιάζειν τὸν δῆμον

[1] *φέροντας* Garrer. [2] Kiessling : *μὴ* S.
[3] *τοῦτο ἔπαθε* deleted by Naber.
[4] *φυγεῖν τε* Müller.

apprised by such a tumult that the knights had carried out the task assigned to them, descended from the citadel to the Forum, bringing with him all the senators and surrounded by the knights displaying naked swords; and after haranguing the people in their assembly he dismissed the crowd.

III. (1) "... having about him men gathered together from every kind of depravity, whom he was rearing up like wild beasts against the fatherland.[1] If, now, he had listened to me and had shown himself a man who abided by the laws, this would have contributed the greatest weight toward his defence and would have been no slight proof that he had not formed any plot against the fatherland; but as it was, goaded by his conscience, he was moved in the same way as are all who have formed unholy plots against those nearest to them: he determined to avoid the investigation of his acts, and striking with a butcher's cleaver the knights who had come for him, he endeavoured to drive them away."

IV. Of the plebeians, those who had not joined in plotting for the overthrow of the government were indignant and angry at the man's attempt, while those who had shared in the conspiracy, being now freed from their fear, pretended to rejoice and praised the senate for the measures it had taken; but some few of them, the most knavish, made bold during the following days to spread reports to the effect that Maelius had been made away with by the men in power, and attempted to sow dissension

[1] This excerpt is presumably from the speech delivered by the dictator, Cincinnatus, before the popular assembly; *cf.* Livy iv. 15.

[5] μὲν οὐ added by Müller. [6] ἐπὶ added by Kiessling.

ἐπεχείρουν· οὓς ἀφανεῖ θανάτῳ διαχρησάμενος ὁ δικτάτωρ, ἐπειδὴ κατέπαυσε τὸν θόρυβον,[1] τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτίθεται.

2 Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ πιθανώτατά μοι[2] δοκοῦντες γράφειν περὶ τῆς Μαιλίου τελευτῆς οὕτω παραδεδώκασι· λεγέσθω δὲ καὶ ὁ δοκῶν ἧττον εἶναί μοι πιθανὸς λόγος, ᾧ κέχρηται Κίγκιος καὶ Καλπούρνιος,[3] ἐπιχώριοι συγγραφεῖς, οἳ φασιν οὔτε δικτάτορα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδειχθῆναι τὸν Κοΐντιον οὔτε 3 ἱππάρχην ὑπὸ τοῦ Κοϊντίου τὸν Σερουίλιον. γενομένης δὲ μηνύσεως[4] ὑπὸ τοῦ Μηνυκίου τοὺς παρόντας ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πιστεύσαντας ἀληθῆ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, γνώμην ἀποδειξαμένου τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τινὸς ἄκριτον ἀποκτεῖναι[5] τὸν ἄνδρα παραχρῆμα πεισθέντας καὶ[6] οὕτω τὸν Σερουίλιον ἐπὶ τοῦτο τάξαι τὸ ἔργον, νέον ὄντα καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα 4 γενναῖον. τοῦτον δέ φασι λαβόντα τὸ ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ μάλης ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μαίλιον πορευόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ προσελθόντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι βούλεται περὶ πράγματος ἀπορρήτου καὶ μεγάλου διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν. κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μαιλίου μικρὸν ἀποχωρῆσαι τοὺς ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ παρόντας, ἐπειδὴ μονωθέντα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔλαβε, γυμνώσαντα τὸ ξίφος βάψαι κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς· τοῦτο δὲ πράξαντα δρόμῳ χωρεῖν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔτι συγκαθημένων τῶν συνέδρων, ἔχοντα τὸ ξίφος ἡμαγμένον καὶ[7] κεκραγότα πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας ὅτι κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνῄρηκε τὸν τύραν-

[1] *τὸν θόρυβον* Feder : *τοῦ θορύβου* S, Jacoby.
[2] *μοι* Edd. : *μου* S.
[3] *κίρκεος καὶ καλπουρίνος* S.
[4] *μηνύσεως* Feder : *τῆς μηνύσεως* S.
[5] *ἢ μὴν* (*ἡ μὲν* S) deleted before *ἀποκτεῖναι* by Kayser.

among the people. The dictator put these men to death secretly, and after allaying the disturbance, resigned his magistracy.

Now those who seem to me to give the most credible account of Maelius' death have handed down the above report; but let me record also the account which appears to me less credible, the one adopted by Cincius and Calpurnius,[1] native writers. These men state that neither was Quintius appointed dictator by the senate nor Servilius made Master of Horse by Quintius. But when information was given by Minucius, those who were present in the senate believed that the things reported were true, and when one of the older senators made a motion to put the man to death immediately without a trial, they were convinced and accordingly appointed for this task Servilius, who was a young man and brave in action. Servilius, they say, taking his dagger under his arm, approached Maelius as he was proceeding from the Forum, and coming up to him, said that he wished to speak with him about a private matter of great importance. Then, when Maelius ordered those who were close to him to withdraw to a little distance, the other, having thus got him separated from his guard, bared his sword and plunged it into his throat; and after doing this he ran to the senate-house, where the senators were still in session, brandishing his sword that dripped with blood and shouting to those who pursued him that he had destroyed the tyrant at the command of the senate.

[1] L. Cincius Alimentus and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.

[6] *πεισθέντας καὶ* S : *πεισθῆναι καὶ* Kayser; Müller deleted *καὶ* here and added it two lines above before *γνώμην*.

[7] *καὶ* added by Kiessling.

5 νον. ἀκούσαντας δὲ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὄνομα τοὺς ὡρμηκότας παίειν τε καὶ βάλλειν[1] αὐτὸν ἀποτραπέσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομῆσαι. ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸν Ἄλαν αὐτῷ τεθῆναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὸ ξίφος ἔχων ὑπὸ μάλης ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα· ἄλας γὰρ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς μάλας.[2]

6 Ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καθ' ὁπότερον[3] τρόπον συνελθοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ τήν τε οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι δημοσίαν ἐψηφίσατο καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἕως ἐδάφους κατασκαφῆναι. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς πέριξ οἰκίαις μόνος ἀνειμένος ἔρημος, καλούμενος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Αἰκυμήλιον, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴποιμεν ἰσόπεδον Μήλιον[4]· αἶκον γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχον ἐξοχὴν καλεῖται.[5] τόπον οὖν τινα Αἶκον[6] Μήλιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς κληθέντα, ὕστερον[7] συμφθαρέντων[8] ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὴν μίαν ἐκφορὰν τῶν ὀνομάτων Αἰκυμήλιον[9] ἐκάλεσαν. τῷ δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Μαιλίου μήνυσιν ἀποδόντι Μηνυκίῳ στάσιν ἀνδριάντος ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλή. *Esc.*; (p. 214, ll. 12-18) *Ambr.*

V. (2) Τυρρηνῶν καὶ Φιδηναίων καὶ Οὐιεντανῶν πολεμούντων Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Λάρου Τολουμνίου[10] τοῦ βασιλέως Τυρρηνῶν πάνδεινα ποιοῦντος[11] κατ' αὐτῶν χιλίαρχός τις Ῥωμαῖος, Αὖλος Κορνήλιος

[1] ψάλλειν S, according to de Boor.
[2] μάλας Edd. : μάχας S.
[3] ὁπότερον Garrer (who added δὴ or οὖν) : ἑκάτερον S, ἕτερον Jacoby.
[4] Μήλιον Kiessling : μένον S.
[5] The brief excerpt in the Ambrosianus begins : τὸ ἰσόπεδον αἰκυμίλιον ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν· αἶκον γὰρ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχον ἐξοχὴν λέγουσι.
[6] Αἶκον added by Struve.

When they heard mention of the senate, those who had been bent on beating and stoning him desisted and committed no lawless act against him. In consequence of this deed of his they say the cognomen Ala (Ahala[1]) was given him, inasmuch as he had his sword under his arm-pit when he came upon Maelius ; for the Romans call the arm-pit *ala*.

When the man had been destroyed in one way or the other, the senate met and voted that his property should be confiscated to the state and his house razed to the ground. This site even to my day was the only area left vacant amid the surrounding houses, and was called Aequimelium by the Romans, or, as we might say, the Plain of Melius. For *aequum* is the name given by the Romans to that which has no eminences ; accordingly, a place originally called *aequum Melium* was later, when the two words were run together and pronounced as one, called Aequimelium. To the man who gave information against Maelius, namely Minucius, the senate voted that a statue should be erected.

V. (2) When the Tyrrhenians, Fidenates and Veientes were making war upon the Romans,[2] and Lars Tolumnius, the king of the Tyrrhenians, was doing them terrible damage, a Roman military tribune,

[1] Ahala was not an easy name for Dionysius to put into Greek.

[2] For chap. 5 *cf.* Livy iv. 19, 1-6.

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[7] *τόπον οὖν τινα . . . ὕστερον* (but with *αἶκον* omitted) Q : om. S ; Feder proposed *τόπον οὖν τὸν Μαιλίου*.

[8] *συμφθαρέντων* Q : *συμφθαρέντων δὲ* S.

[9] *αἰκυμήλιον* Q : *αἰκύμηνον* S.

[10] Mai : *τολουρουμνίου* Q.

[11] *πάνδεινα ποιοῦντος* regarded by Struve as corrupt. Jacoby suggested *πανδημεὶ ἐπιόντος*.

Κόσσος ἐπίκλησιν, ἐλαύνει τὸν ἵππον κατὰ τοῦ Τολουμνίου· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, φέρουσι
2 κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δόρατα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τολούμνιος τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ παίει διὰ τοῦ στήθους, ὃς ἀναχαιτίσας ῥιπτεῖ τὸν ἐπιβάτην· ὁ δὲ Κορνήλιος διὰ θυρεοῦ τε καὶ θώρακος ἐλάσας τὴν αἰχμὴν εἰς τὰ πλευρὰ περιτρέπει τὸν Τολούμνιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ ἔτι διανισταμένου φέρει διὰ τοῦ[1] βουβῶνος
3 τὸ ξίφος. ἀποκτείνας δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ σκῦλα ἀφελόμενος οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἀνέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀντέχοντας εἰς ἀθυμίαν καὶ δέος κατέστησεν. *Ambr.*

VI. (3) Δεύτερον ὑπατεύοντος Αὔλου Κορνηλίου Κόσσου καὶ Τίτου Κοϊντίου αὐχμῷ μεγάλῳ κακωθεῖσα ἡ γῆ πάντων ἐσπάνισεν οὐ μόνον τῶν ὀμβρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ναματιαίων[2] ὑδάτων· ἐκ δὲ τούτου προβάτων μὲν καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ βοῶν ἐπίλειψις παντελὴς ἐγένετο, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους νόσοι κατέσκηψαν πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ψωρώδης καλουμένη, δεινὰς ὀδύνας παρέχουσα τοῖς χρωσὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὀδαξησμοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἑλκώσεις ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀγριαινομένη—πάθος ἐλεεινὸν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ καὶ τοῦ ταχίστου τῶν ὀλέθρων αἴτιον. *Ambr.*

2 (4) Οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς προεστηκόσι τοῦ συνεδρίου βαθεῖαν[3] εἰρήνην καὶ πολυχρόνιον ἄγειν σχολήν, ἐνθυμουμένοις ὅτι ῥᾳθυμία καὶ τρυφὴ συνεισπορεύεται ταῖς πόλεσι μετὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ἅμα τὰς πολιτικὰς ὀρρωδοῦσι ταραχάς.[4] καὶ αὗται

[1] τοῦ added by Struve. [2] Struve : *ναματίων* Q.
[3] *βαθεῖαν* Struve : *μαθεῖν* Q.

Aulus Cornelius, with the cognomen Cossus, spurred his horse against Tolumnius ; and when he was close to him, they levelled their spears against each other. Tolumnius drove his spear through the breast of his foe's horse, which reared and threw its rider ; and Cornelius, driving the point of his spear through the shield and breastplate of Tolumnius into his side, knocked him from his horse, and while he was still attempting to raise himself, ran his sword through his groin. After slaying him and stripping off his spoils, he not only repulsed those who came to close quarters with him, both horse and foot, but also reduced to discouragement and fear those who still held out on the two wings.

VI. (3) When Aulus Cornelius Cossus (for the second time) and Titus Quintius were consuls,[1] the land suffered from a severe drought, lacking all moisture not only from rains but also from flowing streams. As a result, sheep, beasts of burden and cattle disappeared entirely, while human beings were visited with many diseases, particularly the one called the mange, which caused dreadful pains in the skin with its itchings and in case of any ulcerations raged more violently than ever—a most pitiable affliction and the cause of the speediest of deaths.

(4) It did not seem wise to the leaders of the senate to have profound peace and long-continued leisure ; for they were mindful that indolence and softness enter states along with peace, and at the same time they dreaded civil disturbances. For these distur-

[1] For § (3) *cf.* Livy iv. 30, 7 f. Livy makes Quintius the one who was consul for the second time.

[4] τὰς πολιτικὰς . . . ταραχάς Struve : ταῖς πολιτικαῖς . . . ταραχαῖς Q.

γὰρ ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τοὺς ὑπερορίους πολέμους χαλεπαὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐξ ἁπάσης προφάσεως ἀνίσταντο.[1]

3 Κρεῖττον ταῖς φιλανθρωπίαις περιεῖναι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ ταῖς τιμωρίαις, δι' ἃς κεἰ[2] μηδὲν ἕτερον αἵ γέ τοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίδες ἡδίους αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. *Ambr.*

4 (5) Ὡς ἔμαθε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῶν κατόπιν προσιόντας, ἐπιστρέφειν μὲν ὀπίσω περιεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πανταχόθεν ἀπέγνω, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι κινδυνεύσουσιν ἅπαντες οὐθὲν ἀποδειξάμενοι γενναῖον ἔργον αἴσχιστα διαφθαρῆναι, ὀλίγοι τε πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχόμενοι καὶ τεθωρακισμένοι πρὸς ἐλαφρούς. ἰδὼν δὲ ὄχθον τινὰ ὑψηλὸν ἐπιεικῶς, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ οὐ πρόσω, τοῦτον ἔγνω καταλαβέσθαι. *Ambr.*

5 (6) Ἀγρίππας Μενήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Λουκρήτιος[3] καὶ Σερούιος Ναύτιος, χιλίαρχοι †τιμηθέντες,[4] ἐπίθεσίν τινα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως γενομένην ὑπὸ
6 δούλων ἐφώρασαν. ἔμελλον δὲ οἱ μετέχοντες τῆς συνωμοσίας πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ταῖς οἰκίαις κατὰ πολλοὺς ἅμα τόπους νύκτωρ, ὁπότε μάθοιεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν καιομένων βοήθειαν ὡρμηκότας ἅπαντας, τό τε Καπιτώλιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρυμνοὺς καταλαμβάνεσθαι τόπους, ἐγκρατεῖς δὲ γενόμενοι τῶν καρτερῶν τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοὺς ἄλλους δούλους παρακαλεῖν καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς δεσπότας τὰς τῶν πεφονευμένων γυναῖκάς τε καὶ κτήσεις παραλαμβάνειν.

[1] *ἀνίστανται* Kiessling.
[2] Struve : *καὶ* Q.
[3] *λουκράτιος* Q.
[4] The reading given in Q is corrupt. Cobet proposed to

bances, as soon as external wars were terminated, arose, bitter and continuous, on every possible excuse.

It is better for people to surpass their enemies in acts of kindness than in punishments, since, even if there is no other reason, at least their expectations of favours from the gods are brighter because of them.

(5) When he learned that the enemy were coming up in the rear,[1] he despaired of turning back, being surrounded by the enemy on all sides, and bearing in mind that they would all run the risk of perishing ignominiously without having performed any noble action, fighting, as they would be, a few against many, and heavily armed against light troops. And perceiving a hill of moderate height which lay at no great distance, he resolved to seize it.

(6) Agrippa Menenius, Publius Lucretius and Servius Nautius, having been honoured with the military tribuneship,[2] discovered a plot that had been formed against the commonwealth by slaves. The conspirators were planning to set fire to the houses at night in many different places at the same time, and then, when they had learned that everyone had rushed to the aid of the burning buildings, to seize the Capitol and the other fortified places and, once in possession of the strong positions in the city, to summon the other slaves to freedom and together with them, after slaying their masters, to take over the wives and possessions of the murdered men.

[1] For § (5) *cf.* Livy iv. 39, 4(?).

[2] For § (6) *cf.* Livy iv. 44, 13–45, 2. Livy gives the name as Spurius Nautius.

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read χιλιαρχία τιμηθέντες. But τιμηθέντες may have replaced αἱρεθέντες, ἀποδειχθέντες, or some other verb of similar meaning; in which case χιλίαρχοι could stand.

7 τῆς δὲ πράξεως περιφανοῦς[1] γενομένης συλληφθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι συνθέντες τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ μαστιγωθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς σταυροὺς ἀπήχθησαν· τῶν δὲ μηνυσάντων αὐτούς, ὄντων δυεῖν, ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δραχμὰς χιλίας[2] ἑκάτερος ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου. *Ambr.*

VII. (7) Ἔσπευδε τὸν πόλεμον συντελέσαι ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὁ Ῥωμαίων χιλίαρχος ὡς δὴ ῥᾴδιόν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ κατὰ χειρὸς αὐτῷ γενησόμενον ὑποχειρίους ποιήσασθαι μιᾷ μάχῃ τοὺς
2 πολεμίους. τῷ δὲ ἡγεμόνι τῶν πολεμίων, ἐνθυμουμένῳ τό τε ἐμπειροπόλεμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις καρτερικόν, μάχην μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως ἴσην[3] καὶ φανερὰν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδόκει, διαστρατηγεῖν δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπάταις τισὶ καὶ δόλοις καὶ παρατηρεῖν εἴ τι πλεονέκτημα καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκεῖνοι παρέξουσιν. *Ambr.*

Τραυματίας καὶ παρασχεδὸν ἐλθὼν ἀποθανεῖν. *Ambr.*

VIII. (8) Ἐν Ῥώμῃ χειμῶνος γενομένου βιαίου, ἔνθα ἡ ἐλαχίστη χιὼν κατενίφθη, οὐκ ἐλάττων ἦν ἑπτὰ ποδῶν τὸ βάθος. καὶ συνέπεσεν ἀνθρώπους τε ὑπὸ τοῦ νιφετοῦ διαφθαρῆναί τινας καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνῶν καὶ ὑποζυγίων μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ σφακε-
2 λίσαντα, τὰ δὲ νομῆς τῆς συνήθους ἀπορίᾳ. δένδρων τε καρποφόρων ὅσα μὴ πέφυκεν ὑπερβολὰς νιφετῶν ὑπομένειν τὰ μὲν εἰς τέλος ἐξηράνθη, τὰ δὲ ἐπικαέντα τοὺς βλαστοὺς ἄκαρπα ἐπὶ πολλοὺς

[1] περιφανῶς Q. [2] χιλίας added by Mai.

When the plot was revealed, the ringleaders were arrested and after being scourged were led away to be crucified; as for the men who had laid information against them, two in number, each received his freedom and a thousand[1] denarii from the public treasury.

VII. (7) The Roman tribune was anxious to terminate the war in a few days, as if it would be a simple matter and quite within his power to reduce the enemy to subjection by a single battle. But the leader of the enemy, mindful of the Romans' experience in warfare and of their perseverance amid the hazards of battle, determined not to fight a pitched battle against them on equal terms and in the open, but to carry on the war by means of some ruses and stratagems and to be on the watch for any advantage they might offer him against themselves.

Having been wounded and having come within a little of dying.

VIII. (8) At Rome there was a severe storm,[2] and where the least snow fell it was not less than seven feet deep. It chanced that some persons lost their lives in the snowstorm, as did many sheep and no small portion of the other cattle and beasts of burden, partly as the result of being frostbitten and partly because of the lack of their customary grazing. Of the fruit-trees, those which were of such a nature as could not endure excessive snowstorms were either completely winter-killed or had their shoots withered

[1] The word for "thousand" has fallen out of the MS. but was supplied by Mai. Livy expresses this sum as *dena milia gravis aeris* (*i.e.* 10,000 *asses*).

[2] For chap. 8 *cf.* Livy v. 13, 1.

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[3] ἴσην A : ἴσον Q.

χρόνους ἐγένετο.[1] ἐλύθησάν[2] τε καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν συχναὶ καί τινες καὶ περιετράπησαν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅσαι ἐκ τῶν λίθων, κατὰ τὴν διάλυσίν τε καὶ
3 ἀπότηξιν τῆς χιόνος. τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὔτε πρότερόν ποτε γενόμενον ἐν ἱστορίας γραφῇ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία παρειλήφαμεν οὔθ' ὕστερον ἕως τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου, μετρίῳ γέ τινι βορειότερα τοῦ μέσου,[3] κατὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἄθων[4] γραφόμενον δι' Ἑλλησπόντου παράλληλον. τότε δὲ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐξέβη τῆς εἰωθυίας κράσεως ἡ τοῦ περιέχοντος τήνδε τὴν γῆν[5] φύσις. *Ambr.*

IX. (9) Ἑορτὰς ἦγον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς καλουμένας τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ γλώττῃ στρωμνὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Σιβυλλείων κελευσθέντες χρησμῶν. νόσος γάρ τις λοιμώδης γενομένη θεόπεμπτός τε καὶ ὑπὸ τέχνης ἀνθρωπίνης ἀνίατος εἰς ζήτησιν αὐτοὺς
2 ἤγαγε τῶν χρησμῶν. ἐκόσμησάν τε στρωμνὰς τρεῖς, ὡς ἐκέλευον οἱ χρησμοί, μίαν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Λητοῖ, ἑτέραν δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι, τρίτην δὲ Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι· καὶ διετέλουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ δημοσίᾳ τε καταθύοντες καὶ ἰδίᾳ κατ' οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἅπαντες τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπαρχόμενοι, ἑστιάσεις τε λαμπροτάτας ἐπιτελοῦντες καὶ ξένων τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ὑποδεχόμενοι.
3 (10) Πείσων δὲ ὁ τιμητικὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ταῦτ' ἔτι προστίθησιν· ὅτι λελυμένων μὲν τῶν θεραπόντων ὅσους πρότερον ἐν τοῖς δεσ-

[1] Struve : *ἐγένοντο* Q.

[2] *ἐλύθησάν* Kiessling : *ἐμίχθησαν* (*ἐλέχθησαν* according to Kiessling) Q, *ἐνίφθησάν* Struve, *συνεχύθησάν* Jacoby.

[3] *τοῦ μέσου κλίματος* Warmington.

[4] Post : *ἀθηνῶν* Q, Jacoby.

[5] *ἀέρος* added after *γῆν* by Kiessling ; *cf.* chap. 15 (21).

and bore no fruit for many years. Many houses also collapsed and some were actually overturned, especially those constructed of stone, during the thawing and melting of the snow. We have no report in a historical record of the occurrence of such a calamity, either on any earlier occasion or later, down to our own time, in this region, which is slightly north of the middle zone,[1] on the parallel running above Athos through the Hellespont. This was the first and only time when the atmosphere of this land departed from its customary temperature.

IX. (9) The Romans were conducting the festival called in their own language *lectisternium*,[2] in response to the bidding of the Sibylline oracles. For a kind of pestilence sent by Heaven and incurable by human skill had led them to consult the oracles. They adorned three couches, as the oracles commanded, one for Apollo and Latona, another for Hercules and Diana, and a third for Mercury and Neptune. And for seven days running they offered sacrifices, both publicly and privately, each according to his own ability giving first-fruits to the gods; and they prepared most magnificent banquets and entertained the strangers who were sojourning in their midst. (10) Piso the ex-censor in his *Annals* adds these further details : that, though all the slaves whom their mas-

[1] Early Greek geographers commonly divided the "inhabited earth" known to them into seven zones (*climata*), the middle one of which lay along the parallel of Rhodes. Their next important parallel on the north was that of the Hellespont, running through the Troad, Amphipolis, Apollonia in Epirus, and south of Rome but north of Naples (so Strabo ii. 5, 40). In reality, Rome is nearly 2° north of the latitude here indicated. Athos is due to Post; the MSS. give Athens.

[2] For chap. 9 *cf.* Livy v. 13, 4-8.

μοῖς εἶχον οἱ δεσπόται, πληθυούσης ὄχλου ξενικοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν οἰκιῶν διὰ ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, καὶ δίχα κωλύσεως εἰσιόντων εἰς αὐτὰς τῶν βουλομένων, οὔτε χρῆμα οὐδὲν ἀπολωλεκέναι τις ἠτιάσατο οὔτε ἠδικῆσθαί τινα ὑπ' οὐδενός, καίτοι πολλὰ φέρειν εἰωθότων πλημμελῆ καὶ παράνομα τῶν ἑορταίων[1] καιρῶν διὰ τὰς μέθας. *Ambr.*

X. (11) Οὐιεντανοὺς πολιορκούντων Ῥωμαίων περὶ τὴν ἐπιτολὴν τοῦ κυνός, ὅτε μάλιστα λίμναι τε ἐπιλείπουσι καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες, ὅ τι μὴ μόνος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Νεῖλος, λίμνη τις ἀπέχουσα τῆς Ῥώμης οὐ μεῖον ρκ' σταδίων ἐν τοῖς Ἄλβανοῖς καλουμένοις ὄρεσι, παρ' ἣ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μητρόπολις ᾠκεῖτο, οὔτε ὑετῶν γενομένων οὔτε νιφετῶν οὔτ' ἄλλης τινὸς αἰτίας ἀνθρώποις φανερᾶς, τοσαύτην ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ναμάτων ἐπίδοσιν ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν ἐπικλύσαι τῆς παρορείου, πολλὰς δὲ οἰκήσεις γεωργικὰς καταβαλεῖν,[2] τελευτῶσαν[3] δὲ καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν ὀρῶν αὐλῶνα διασπάσαι καὶ ποταμὸν ἐκχέαι κατὰ
2 τῶν ὑποκειμένων πεδίων ἐξαίσιον. (12) τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μέν, ὡς δαιμονίου τινὸς μηνίοντος τῇ πόλει, θυσίαις ἐξιλάσασθαι[4] τοὺς κατέχοντας τὸν τόπον θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μάντεις ἀνέκρινον εἴ τι λέγειν ἔχουσιν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε ἡ λίμνη τὴν ἑαυτῆς τάξιν ἀπελάμβανεν οὔτε οἱ μάντεις ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν ἔλεγον ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσθαι παρῄνουν, ἐπὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν μαντεῖον ἀπέστειλαν θεοπρόπους. *Ambr.*

[1] Struve : ἑορτάδων Q.
[2] Struve : καταλαβεῖν Q.
[3] Struve : τελευτῶσα Q.
[4] ἐξιλάσκεσθαι Λ.

ters had previously kept in chains were then turned loose, though the city was filled with a throng of strangers, and though the houses were open day and night and all who wished entered them without hindrance, yet no one complained of having lost anything or of having been wronged by anyone, even though festal occasions are wont to bring many disorderly and lawless deeds in their train because of the drunkenness attending them.

X. (11) When the Romans were besieging the Veientes [1] about the time of the rising of the dog-star, the season when lakes are most apt to fail, as well as all rivers, with the single exception of the Egyptian Nile, a certain lake, distant not less than one hundred and twenty stades from Rome in the Alban mountains, as they are called, beside which in ancient times the mother-city of the Romans was situated, at a time when neither rains nor snow-storms had occurred nor any other cause perceptible to human beings, received such an increase to its waters that it inundated a large part of the region lying round the mountains, destroyed many farm houses, and finally carved out the gap between the mountains and poured a mighty river down over the plains lying below. (12) Upon learning of this, the Romans at first, in the belief that some god was angry at the commonwealth, voted to propitiate the gods and lesser divinities who presided over the region, and asked the native soothsayers if they had anything to say; but when neither the lake resumed its natural state nor the soothsayers had anything definite to say, but advised consulting the god, they sent envoys to the Delphic oracle.

[1] For chaps. 10–12 *cf.* Livy v. 15; 16, 1, 8-11; 17, 1; 19, 1.

XI. (13) Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ Οὐιεντανῶν τις ἔμπειρος τῆς ἐπιχωρίου μαντικῆς διὰ προγόνων ἐτύγχανε φυλακὴν ἔχων τοῦ τείχους, ἐγεγόνει δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης λοχαγῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ γνώριμος. οὗτος ὁ λοχαγὸς ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ποτὲ γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς συνήθεις ἀσπασμοὺς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀποδοὺς οἰκτείρειν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς καταληψομένης ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφορᾶς, ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἁλῷ. 2 καὶ ὁ Τυρρηνὸς ἀκηκοὼς τὴν ὑπέρχυσιν τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ περὶ αὐτῆς προειδὼς θέσφατα ἀναγελάσας, "Οἷον," ἔφησεν, "ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν τὸ προειδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀγνωσίαν τῶν ἀποβησομένων πόλεμον ἀτελῆ καὶ πόνους ἀνηνύτους ἀντλεῖτε τὴν[1] Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν ἀναστήσειν οἰόμενοι. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι τῇ πόλει τῇδε τότε[2] πέπρωται ἁλῶναι ὅταν ἡ πρὸς Ἀλβανῷ λίμνη σπανίσασα τῶν αὐθιγενῶν ναμάτων μηκέτι μίσγηται θαλάττῃ, ἐπαύσασθε ἂν αὐτοί τε δαπανώμενοι καὶ ἡμᾶς 3 ἐνοχλοῦντες." ταῦτα ὁ Ῥωμαῖος μαθὼν πολὺς ἐν τῷ σκοπεῖν[3] καθ' ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος, τότε μὲν ἀπῄει, (14) τῇ δ' ἑξῆς προειπὼν τοῖς χιλιάρχοις ἃ διενοεῖτο, παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἄνοπλος, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸν Τυρρηνὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. χρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἀσπασμοῖς πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς κατεχούσης τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στρατόπεδον ἀμηχανίας διελέγετο ἄλλ',[4] ἐφ' οἷς ἠσθήσεσθαι τὸν Τυρρηνὸν ὑπελάμβανεν, ἔπειτα ἐξηγητὴν αὐτῷ[5] γενέσθαι ἠξίου σημείων

[1] *τὴν* Q : om. A. [2] *τότε* Q : om. A.
[3] *σκοπεῖν* Sintenis : *σκοπῷ* Q.
[4] ἄλλ' Q : *ἄττ'* Struve.

XI. (13) In the meantime one of the Veientes, who had inherited from his ancestors a knowledge of the augural science of his country, chanced to be guarding the wall, and one of the centurions from Rome had long been an acquaintance of his. This centurion, being near the wall one day and giving the other man the customary greetings, remarked that he pitied him because of the calamity that would befall him along with the rest if the city were captured. The Tyrrhenian, having heard of the overflowing of the Alban lake and knowing already the ancient oracles concerning it, laughed and said: "What a fine thing it is to know beforehand the things that are to be! Thus, you Romans in your ignorance of what is to happen are waging an endless war and are expending fruitless toils, in the belief that you will overthrow the city of Veii; whereas, if anyone had revealed to you that it is fated for this city to be captured only when the lake beside the Alban mount, lacking its natural springs, shall no longer mingle its waters with the sea, you would have desisted from exhausting yourselves and at the same time troubling us." Upon hearing this, the Roman took the matter very seriously to heart; for the time being he went his way, (14) but the next day, after telling the tribunes what he had in mind, he came to the same place unarmed, so that the Tyrrhenian might conceive no suspicion of a plot on his part. When he had uttered the usual greetings, he first talked about the embarrassment in which the Roman army found itself, mentioning sundry matters which he thought would give pleasure to the Tyrrhenian, and then asked him to interpret for him some signs

[5] Struve: αὐτῷ Q.

τινῶν καὶ τεράτων νεωστὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις γεγο-
4 νότων. πείθεται τοῖς λόγοις ὁ μάντις οὐδεμίαν δεδοικὼς ἐξαπάτην καὶ τοὺς συνόντας[1] αὐτῷ μεταστῆναι κελεύσας αὐτὸς ἠκολούθει μόνος τῷ λοχαγῷ. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ὑπαγόμενος αὐτὸν ἀπωτέρω τοῦ τείχους διὰ τῶν πρὸς ἀπάτην μηχανηθέντων λόγων, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ περιτειχίσματος, περιβαλὼν[2] ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις μέσον αἴρεταί τε καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἀποφέρεται στρατόπεδον. *Ambr.*

XII. (15) Τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ χιλίαρχοι λόγοις τε θεραπεύοντες καὶ βασάνων ἀπειλαῖς δεδιττόμενοι ἅπαντα παρεσκεύασαν ἐξειπεῖν ἃ περὶ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης ἀπέκρυπτεν· εἶτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀναπέμπουσι. τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου οὐχ ὁμοία[3] παρέστη δόξα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει πανοῦργός τις εἶναι καὶ γόης ὁ Τυρρηνὸς καὶ κατα-
2 ψεύδεσθαι τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ περὶ τὸν χρησμόν, τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ πάσης ἀληθείας εἰρηκέναι. (16) ἐν τοιαύτῃ δ' ἀμηχανίᾳ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπαρχούσης παρῆσαν οἱ προαποσταλέντες εἰς Δελφοὺς θεόπροποι χρησμοὺς κομίζοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ πρότερον ἀπηγγελμένοις συνᾴδοντας· ὅτι θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες οἱ λαχόντες τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐγγυῶνται χρόνον ἀσάλευτον φυλάξαι τὴν ἐκ προγόνων παραδοθεῖσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ὅσον ἂν διαμένωσιν αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀλβανῷ λίμνης ὑπερχεόμεναι καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης ἀπορρέουσαι·
3 ὅταν δ' ἐκεῖναι φύσιν τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὁδοὺς τὰς ἀρχαίας ἐκλιποῦσαι καθ' ἑτέρας ἐκτραπῶσιν, ὡς μηκέτι μίσγεσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ, τότε[4] καὶ τὴν πόλιν

[1] Struve : *συνιόντας* Q. [2] *περιβαλὼν* Q : *περιλαβὼν* Struve.

and prodigies which had recently appeared to the tribunes. The soothsayer was won over by his words, fearing no treachery, and after ordering those who were with him to stand aside, he himself followed the centurion unattended. The Roman kept leading him farther and farther from the wall by a line of conversation planned to deceive him, and when he was near the wall of circumvallation, seizing him by the waist with both hands, he lifted him up and carried him off to the Roman camp.

XII. (15) The tribunes, by using arguments designed to conciliate this man as well as threats of torture to frighten him, caused him to declare all that he had been concealing with regard to the Alban lake; then they also sent him to the senate. The senators were not all of the same opinion; but some thought that the Tyrrhenian was something of a rascal and charlatan and falsely attributed to the deity what he said about the oracle, while others thought that he had spoken in all sincerity. (16) While the senate was in this quandary, the messengers who had been sent earlier to Delphi arrived, bringing oracles agreeing with those already announced by the Tyrrhenian. These declared that the gods and genii to whom had been allotted the oversight of the city of Veii guaranteed to maintain for them unshaken the good fortune of their city as handed down from their ancestors for only so long a time as the springs of the Alban lake should continue to overflow and run down to the sea; but that when these should forsake their natural bent and, quitting their ancient courses, should turn aside to others, so as to mingle no longer with the sea, then too their city would be overthrown.

[3] *οὐχ ἡ ὁμοία* Struve, Jacoby. [4] *τότε* Q : om. A.

αὐτῶν ἀνάστατον ἔσεσθαι· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων γενήσεσθαι, ἐὰν ὀρύγμασι καθ' ἕτερα χωρία γενομένοις[1] ἐκτρέψωσι τὴν πλήμυραν τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς τὰ πρόσω τῆς θαλάττης πεδία. ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐθὺς ἐπέστησαν τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς χειροτέχνας. *Ambr.*

XIII. (17) Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἤκουσαν Οὐιεντανοὶ παρ' αἰχμαλώτου τινός, ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἤθελον περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν ἁλῶναι κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
2 ἀποδείκνυνται πρέσβεις οἱ πρεσβύτατοι. ἀποψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς διαλλαγὰς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σιωπῇ, ὁ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατος ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν ἐμπειρίαν δοκιμώτατος, ἐπιστὰς ταῖς θύραις[2] καὶ περιβλέψας ἅπαντας[3] τοὺς παρόντας ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, "Καλόν,[4]" ἔφησεν, "ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, δόγμα ἐξενηνόχατε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, οἵ[5] τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀξιοῦντες[5] ἔχειν τῶν περιοίκων δι' ἀρετήν, πόλιν οὔτε μικρὰν οὔτε ἄσημον ἀποτιθεμένην τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παραδιδοῦσαν ὑμῖν ἑαυτὴν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες[5] ὑπήκοον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν βουλόμενοι,[5] οὔτε τὸν ἐκ τοῦ θείου δείσαντες χόλον οὔτε τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἐντραπέντες νέμεσιν.
3 ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμῖν δίκη τιμωρὸς ἥξει παρὰ θεῶν εἰς τὰ ὅμοια ζημιοῦσα· Οὐιεντανοὺς γὰρ ἀφελόμενοι τὴν πατρίδα μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀποβαλεῖτε." *Ambr.*

4 (18) Μετὰ βραχὺ δὲ ἁλισκομένης τῆς πόλεως οἱ μὲν ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωροῦντες ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ

[1] τεινομένοις Struve.
[2] ταῖς θύραις Struve : τὰς θύρας Q.

This would be brought about in a short time by the Romans if by means of channels dug in other places they should divert the overflowing waters into the plains that were remote from the sea. Upon learning of this, the Romans at once put the engineers in charge of the operation.

XIII. (17) When the Veientes learned of this from a prisoner, they wished to send heralds to their besiegers to seek a termination of the war before the city should be taken by storm; and the oldest citizens were appointed envoys. When the Roman senate voted against making peace, the other envoys left the senate-chamber in silence, but the most prominent of their number and the one who enjoyed the greatest reputation for skill in divination stopped at the door, and looking round upon all who were present in the chamber, said: "A fine and magnanimous decree you have passed, Romans, you who lay claim to the leadership over your neighbours on the ground of valour, when you disdain to accept the submission of a city, neither small nor undistinguished, which offers to lay down its arms and surrender itself to you, but wish to destroy it root and branch, neither fearing the wrath of Heaven nor regarding the indignation of men! In return for this, avenging justice shall come upon you from the gods, punishing you in like manner. For after robbing the Veientes of their country you shall ere long lose your own."

(18) When the city[1] was being captured a short time after this, some of the inhabitants engaged with the

[1] For § (18) *cf.* Livy v. 21, 12-14. The city of Veii is meant.

[3] ἅπαντας Mai: εἰς ἅπαντας Kiessling, who declared this to be the reading of Q. [4] γε added after καλόν by Cobet. [5] οἳ . . . ἀξιοῦτε . . . βούλεσθε Struve; *cf.* xi. 5, 2.

γενόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δ' αὐτοχειρίᾳ σφάξαντες αὑτοὺς διεφθάρησαν· ὅσοις[1] δὲ δι' ἀνανδρίαν τε καὶ ταπεινότητα ψυχῆς πάντ' ἐφαίνετο τοῦ τεθνάναι τὰ δεινὰ μετριώτερα, ῥίψαντες τὰ ὅπλα παρεδίδοσαν τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν ἑαυτούς. *Ambr.*

XIV. (19) Ὁ δὲ δικτάτωρ Κάμιλλος, οὗ στρατηγίᾳ ἡ πόλις ἥλω, ἐπὶ μετεώρου τινὸς[2] ἑστὼς ἅμα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ῥωμαίων, ὅθεν ἅπασα ἡ πόλις ἦν καταφανής, πρῶτον μὲν ἐμακάρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς παρούσης εὐτυχίας, ὅτι καθελεῖν αὐτῷ μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα πόλιν ἐξεγένετο δίχα πόνου, ἣ Τυρρηνίας μὲν ἀνθούσης τότε καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθνῶν δυναμένης[3] οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα ἦν, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαφερομένη καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπομείνασα πολέμους[4] ἄχρι δεκάτης γενεᾶς διετέλεσεν, ἐξ οὗ δ' ἤρξατο πολεμεῖν[5] καὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι συνεχῶς, δέκα διήνεγκε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔτη πάσης πειραθεῖσα
2 τύχης. (20) ἔπειτ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὡς ἐπὶ μικρᾶς αἰωρεῖται ῥοπῆς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονία καὶ βέβαιον οὐδὲν διαμένει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, διατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας εὔξατο τῷ τε Διὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, μάλιστα μὲν ἀνεπίφθονον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ πατρίδι γίνεσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν· εἰ δέ τις ἔμελλε κοινῇ[6] συμφορὰ τὴν[7] Ῥωμαίων

[1] Mai : ὅσους QΛ. [2] ἐπὶ μετεώρου τόπου τινὸς Λ.
[3] Mai : δυνάμεις Q.
[4] πολλοὺς ὑπομείνασα πολέμους Mai, making no comment; Kiessling, stating that πολέμους is wanting in Q, inserted this word after πολλούς.
[5] πολεμεῖν regarded as corrupt by Struve, deleted by Kayser; πονεῖν or πολέμῳ πονεῖν Hertlein.

enemy, and after showing themselves brave men and slaying many, were cut down, and others perished by taking their own lives; those, however, who because of cowardice and pusillanimity regarded any hardships as less terrible than death, threw down their arms and surrendered themselves to the conquerors.

XIV. (19) The dictator Camillus,[1] by whose generalship the city had been captured, after taking his stand with the most prominent Romans upon a height from which the entire city was visible, first congratulated himself upon his present good fortune, in that it had fallen to his lot to destroy without hardship a great and prosperous city which was no unimportant part of Tyrrhenia—a country at that time flourishing and the most powerful of any of the nations inhabiting Italy—and which had constantly disputed the leadership with the Romans and had continued to endure many wars unto the tenth generation, and from the time when it began to wage war and to be besieged continuously had endured the siege for ten years, experiencing every kind of fortune. (20) Then, remembering that men's happiness hangs upon a slight turn of the scales and that no blessings continue steadfast, he stretched out his hands toward heaven and prayed to Jupiter and the other gods that, if possible, his present good fortune might not prove a cause of hatred against either him or his country; but that if any calamity was destined to befall the city of Rome in general or

[1] For chap. 14 *cf.* Livy v. 21, 14 f.

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[6] καινὴ Struve. [7] τὴν Mai : τῶν Q.

πόλιν ἢ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον καταλαμβάνειν ἀντίπαλος τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν, ἐλαχίστην γενέσθαι ταύτην καὶ μετριωτάτην. *Ambr.*

XV. (21) Ἦν δὲ ἡ Οὐιεντανῶν πόλις οὐθὲν ὑποδεεστέρα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνοικεῖσθαι γῆν τε πολλὴν καὶ πολύκαρπον ἔχουσα, τὴν μὲν ὀρεινήν, τὴν δὲ πεδιάδα, καὶ τὸν ὑπερκείμενον[1] ἀέρα καθαρώτατον καὶ πρὸς ὑγιείαν ἀνθρώποις ἄριστον, οὔτε ἕλους πλησίον ὄντος, ὅθεν ἕλκονται βαρεῖς ἀτμοὶ καὶ δυσώδεις, οὔτε ποταμοῦ τινος ψυχρὰς ἕωθεν ἀνιέντος αὔρας, ὑδάτων τε οὐ σπανίων ὄντων οὐδ' ἐπακτῶν, ἀλλ' αὐθιγενῶν καὶ πλουσίων καὶ πίνεσθαι κρατίστων. *Ambr.*

XVI. (22) Αἰνείαν λέγουσι τὸν ἐξ Ἀγχίσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ὅτε κατέσχεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, θῦσαι προαιρούμενον ὅτῳ δή τινι θεῶν, μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν μέλλοντα τοῦ παρεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἱερείου κατάρχεσθαι, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν[2] ἰδεῖν τινα πρόσωθεν ἐρχόμενον, εἴτε Ὀδυσσέα, ὅτε τῷ περὶ τὸν Ἄορνον μαντείῳ χρῆσθαι ἔμελλεν, εἴτε Διο- 2 μήδην, ἡνίκα Δαύνῳ σύμμαχος ἀφίκετο· ἀχθόμενον δὲ τῷ συγκυρήματι καὶ πολεμίαν ὄψιν ἐφ' ἱεροῖς φανεῖσαν ὡς πονηρὸν οἰωνὸν ἀφοσιώσασθαι βουλόμενον, ἐγκαλύψασθαί τε καὶ στραφῆναι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολεμίου χερνιψάμενον 3 αὖθις ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν θυσίαν. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν κρειττόνων ἡσθῆναί τε τῷ συγκυρήματι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ πάσης εὐχῆς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθος, τούς τε ἀπ' ἐκείνου γενομένους ὡς ἕν τι τῶν περὶ τὰς 4 ἱερουργίας νομίμων καὶ τοῦτο διατηρεῖν. (23) ἐπό-

his own life as a counterbalance to their present blessings, it might be very slight and moderate.

XV. (21) Veii was in no respect inferior to Rome [1] as a place in which to live, possessing much fertile land, partly hilly and partly level, and an atmosphere surrounding it that was most pure and conducive to the health of human beings. For there was neither any marsh near by as a source of oppressive and foul vapours nor any river to send up cold breezes at dawn, and its supplies of water were neither scanty nor brought in from outside, but rose in the neighbourhood and were abundant and most excellent for drinking.

XVI. (22) They say that Aeneas, the son of Anchises and Venus, when he had landed in Italy, was intending to sacrifice to some one or other of the gods, and after praying was about to begin the sacrifice of the animal that had been prepared for the rite, when he caught sight of one of the Achaeans approaching at a distance—either Ulysses, when he was about to consult the oracle near Lake Avernus, or Diomed, when he came as an ally to Daunus. And being vexed at the coincidence and wishing to avert as an evil omen the sight of an enemy that had appeared at the time of a sacrifice, he veiled himself and turned his back; then, after the departure of the enemy, he washed his hands again and finished the sacrifice. When the sacrifices turned out rather favourably, he was pleased at the coincidence and observed the same practice on the occasion of every prayer; and his posterity keep this also as one of the customary observances in connexion with their sacri-

[1] For chap. 15 *cf.* Livy v. 24, 5 f.

[1] *περικείμενον* Struve. [2] *ἀρχαίων* Q.

μενος δὴ τοῖς πατρικοῖς[1] ὁ Κάμιλλος νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἵλκυσε τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἐβούλετο μὲν στραφῆναι, τῆς δὲ βάσεως ὑπενεχθείσης οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀναλαβεῖν αὑτὸν ὕπτιος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν φέρεται. τοῦτον τὸν οἰωνὸν οὔτε μαντείας οὔτ' ἐνδοιασμοῦ δεόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ φαυλοτάτῳ ῥᾴδιον ὄντα συμβαλεῖν, ὅτι[2] πεσεῖν αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη πτῶμα ἄσχημον, οὔτε φυλακῆς οὔτε ἀφοσιώσεως ἄξιον ὑπέλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ κεχαρισμένον ἑαυτῷ μετήνεγκεν, ὡς ὑπακηκοότων αὐτοῦ ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐλάχιστον παρεσκευακότων γενέσθαι. *Ambr.*

[1] πατρικίοις Q, according to Kiessling.
[2] Mai : οὔτε Q.

fices. (23) It was in accordance with the traditional usages, then, that Camillus,[1] after making his prayer and drawing his garment down over his head, wished to turn his back ; however, his foot slipped and he was unable to recover himself, but fell flat on the ground. Although this omen called for no divination or uncertainty but was easy for even the most ordinary mind to interpret, signifying that it was absolutely inevitable that he should come a disgraceful fall, nevertheless, he did not consider it worth while either to guard against it or to avert it by expiations, but altered it to the meaning that pleased him, assuming that the gods had given ear to his prayers and had contrived that the mischief should be of the slightest.

[1] For § (23) *cf.* Livy v. 21, 16.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIII

I. (1) Καμίλλου τὴν[1] Φαλίσκων[2] πόλιν πολιορκοῦντος Φαλίσκων[3] τις εἴτ' ἀπεγνωκὼς τὴν πόλιν εἴτε κέρδη θηρώμενος ἴδια[4] παῖδας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἴκων παρακρουσάμενος (ἦν δὲ διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων) ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς περιπατήσοντάς τε πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαϊ-
2 κὸν στρατόπεδον θεασομένους. ὑπαγόμενος δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτοὺς προσωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ φυλακτήριον Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἄγει καὶ τοῖς ἐκδραμοῦσι παραδίδωσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ἔφη βεβουλεῦσθαι μὲν ἔτι πάλαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις[5] ποιῆσαι, οὐδενὸς δὲ κύριος ὢν οὔτε ἄκρας οὔτε πυλῶν οὔθ' ὅπλων τοῦτον ἐξευρηκέναι τὸν τρόπον, ὑποχειρίους ποιῆσαι τοὺς υἱεῖς τῶν εὐγενεστάτων, ἄφυκτον ἀνάγκην ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν[6] καταλήψεσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν τέκνων περιεχομένους[7] τάχιον παραδοῦναι Ῥω-
3 μαίοις τὴν πόλιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε πολλὰς

[1] τὴν Kiessling, τὴν τῶν Struve : τῶν Q.
[2] φαλίσκων Q : Φαλερίων Kiessling, erroneously.
[3] Struve : φαλερίων Q.
[4] Struve : ἰδίᾳ Q.
[5] Cary : ῥωμαίων Q.
[6] αὐτῶν om. Q.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIII

I. (1) When Camillus was besieging the city of Falerii,[1] one of the Faliscans, either having given the city up for lost or seeking personal advantages for himself, tricked the sons of the most prominent families—he was a schoolmaster—and led them outside the city, as if to take a walk before the walls and to view the Roman camp. And gradually leading them farther and farther from the city, he brought them to a Roman outpost and handed them over to the men who ran out. Being brought to Camillus by these men, he said he had long planned to put the city in the hands of the Romans, but not being in possession of any citadel or gate or arms, he had hit upon this plan, namely to put in their power the sons of the noblest citizens, assuming that the fathers in their yearning for the safety of their children would be compelled by inexorable necessity to hand over the city promptly to the Romans. He spoke

[1] For chaps. 1 f. *cf.* Livy v. 27.

[7] *περιποιουμένους* Suidas *s.v. περιποιήσει.*

ἐλπίδας ἔχων θαυμαστούς[1] τινας ἐξοίσεσθαι μισθοὺς τῆς προδοσίας. *Ambr.*

II. (2) Ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος εἰς φυλακὴν παραδιδοὺς τὸν γραμματιστὴν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιστέλλει τῇ βουλῇ διὰ γραμμάτων τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τί χρὴ
2 ποιεῖν ἤρετο. ἐπιτρέψαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ φαίνηται κράτιστον, προαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν γραμματιστὴν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τὸ στρατηγικὸν βῆμα προστάξας τεθῆναι, πολλοῦ συνδραμόντος ὄχλου, τοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη, τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, πρῶτον μὲν ἐδήλωσε τοῖς Φαλίσκοις οἷα ὁ γραμματιστὴς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτόλμησε παρανομεῖν· ἔπειτα περικαταρρῆξαι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ ξαίνειν τὸ
3 σῶμα μάστιξι πάνυ πολλαῖς. ὡς δὲ ταύτης ἅλις εἶχε τῆς τιμωρίας, ῥάβδους τοῖς παισὶν ἀναδοὺς ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν δεδεμένον τὼ χεῖρε ὀπίσω παίοντάς τε καὶ πάντα τρόπον αἰκιζομένους. κομισάμενοι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας οἱ Φαλίσκοι καὶ τὸν γραμματιστὴν ἀξίως τῆς κακῆς διανοίας τιμωρησάμενοι παρέδοσαν τῷ Καμίλλῳ τὴν πόλιν. *Ambr.*

III. (3) Ὁ αὐτὸς Κάμιλλος ἐπὶ τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν στρατεύων ηὔξατο τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἥρᾳ τῇ ἐν Οὐιεντανοῖς, ἐὰν κρατήσῃ τῆς πόλεως τό τε ξόανον αὐτῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθιδρύσειν καὶ σεβασμοὺς
2 αὐτῇ καταστήσεσθαι[2] πολυτελεῖς. ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέστειλε τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀρουμένους ἐκ τῶν βάθρων τὸ ἕδος· ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον οἱ πεμφθέντες εἰς τὸν νεὼν καί

[1] Mai : *θαυμαστάς* Q.

thus, being in great hopes of gaining some wonderful rewards for his treachery.

II. (2) Camillus, having handed over the schoolmaster and the boys to be guarded, sent word by letter to the senate of what had happened and inquired what he should do. When the senate gave him permission to do whatever seemed best to him, he led the schoolmaster together with the boys out of the camp and ordered his general's tribunal to be placed not far from the city gate; and when a large crowd of the Faliscans had rushed up, some of them to the walls and some to the gate, he first showed them what an outrageous thing the schoolmaster had dared to do to them; then he ordered his attendants to tear off the man's clothes and to rend his body with a great many whips. When he had had his fill of this punishment, he handed out rods to the boys and ordered them to conduct the man back to the city with his hands bound behind his back, beating him and maltreating him in every way. After the Faliscans had got their sons back and had punished the schoolmaster in a manner his wicked plan deserved, they delivered up their city to Camillus.

III. (3) This same Camillus,[1] when conducting his campaign against Veii, made a vow to Queen Juno of the Veientes that if he should take the city he would set up her statue in Rome and establish costly rites in her honour. Upon the capture of the city, accordingly, he sent the most distinguished of the knights to remove the statue from its pedestal; and when those who had been sent came into the temple

[1] *Cf.* Livy v. 21, 3; 22, 4-7.

[2] Struve: καταστήσασθαι Q.

τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, εἴτε μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος εἴτε οἰωνοῦ δεόμενος, εἰ βούλοιτο μετελθεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην ἡ θεός, ἤρετο, φωνῇ γεγωνῷ τὸ ξόανον ἐφθέγξατο ὅτι βούλεται. τοῦτο καὶ δὶς γέγονεν· ἀπιστοῦντες γὰρ οἱ νεανίσκοι, εἰ τὸ ξόανον ἦν τὸ φθεγξάμενον, πάλιν ἤροντο τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἤκουσαν. *Ambr.*

IV. (4) Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῶν μετὰ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπάτων νόσος εἰς Ῥώμην κατέσκηψε λοιμικὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπό τε ἀνομβρίας καὶ αὐχμῶν λαβοῦσα ἰσχυρῶν, ὑφ'[1] ὧν κακωθεῖσα ἥ τε δενδρῖτις καὶ ἡ σιτοφόρος ὀλίγους μὲν ἀνθρώποις καρποὺς ἐξήνεγκε καὶ νοσερούς, ὀλίγην δὲ καὶ πονηρὰν βοσκήμασι
2 νομήν. προβάτων μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων ἀναρίθμητόν τι διεφθάρη πλῆθος οὐ χιλοῦ σπανισάμενον[2] μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποτοῦ· τοσαύτη τῶν τε ποταμίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ναμάτων ἐπίλειψις ἐγένετο, ἡνίκα μάλιστα κάμνει πάντα δίψει
3 τὰ βοτά. ἄνθρωποι δὲ ὀλίγοι μέν τινες διεφθάρησαν ἃς οὕπω πρότερον ἐπείρασαν προσενεγκάμενοι τροφάς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μικροῦ πάντες εἰς νόσους δεινὰς κατέπεσον ἀρχομένας μὲν ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἐξανθημάτων, ἃ περὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν χρῶτας ἀνίστατο, κατασκηπτούσας δ' εἰς ἕλκη μεγάλα φαγεδαίναις ὅμοια, πονηρὰν μὲν ὄψιν, δεινὴν δὲ ἀλγηδόνα
4 παρέχοντα. ἦν τε οὐθὲν ἴαμα τῆς περιωδυνίας τοῖς κάμνουσιν ὅ τι μὴ κνησμοὶ καὶ σπαραγμοὶ συνεχεῖς λωβώμενοι τοῖς χρωσὶ μέχρι γυμνώσεως ὀστέων. *Ambr.*

V. (5) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι Καμίλλῳ φθονήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ συνήγαγον καὶ ἐζημίωσαν αὐτὸν δέκα μυριάσιν ἀσσαρίων,[3]

and one of them, either in jest and sport or desiring an omen, asked whether the goddess wished to remove to Rome, the statue answered in a loud voice that she did. This happened twice; for the young men, doubting whether it was the statue that had spoken, asked the same question again and heard the same reply.

IV. (4) Under the consuls who succeeded Camillus[1] a pestilence visited Rome, caused by a lack of rain and severe droughts, which damaged the land devoted to orchards as well as that which was planted to corn, so that they produced scanty and unwholesome harvests for human beings and scanty and poor grazing for stock. Countless sheep and beasts of burden perished for lack not only of fodder but also of water; to such an extent did the rivers and other streams fail, at the very season when all live stock suffers most from thirst. As for human beings, a few perished as the result of resorting to food of which they had made no previous test, while nearly all the rest were afflicted with severe maladies that began with small pustules, which broke out on various parts of the skin and ended up in large ulcers resembling cancers, evil in appearance and causing terrible pain. And there was no remedy for the agony suffered by the victims except continual scratching and tearing of the sores until the tortured flesh laid bare the bones.

V. (5) A little later the civil tribunes,[2] in their hatred of Camillus, convened an assembly to attack him and fined him 100,000 *asses*. They were not

[1] *Cf.* Livy v. 31, 5. [2] *Cf.* Livy v. 32, 7-9.

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[1] Struve : *ἀφ'* Q.
[2] Mai : *σπανισάμενος* Q, *ἐσπανισμένον* Enthoven.
[3] *ἀσσαρίων* added by Mai.

οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι πολλοστόν τι μέρος ὁ βίος ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ κατακρίματος, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἀπαχθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων ἀσχημονήσῃ ὁ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους κατορθώσας πολέμους. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀργύριον οἱ πελάται τε καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ συνεισενέγκαντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων ἀπέδοσαν, ὥστε μηδεμιᾶς πειραθῆναι ὕβρεως, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ἀφόρητον ἡγούμενος τὸν προπηλακισμὸν
2 ἐκχωρεῖν ἔγνω τῆς πόλεως. (6) γενόμενος δὲ πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀσπασάμενος ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ δακρύοντας οἷον στέρεσθαι μέλλοιεν ἀνδρός, πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν ἀφεὶς δάκρυα καὶ τὴν κατασχοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἀσχημοσύνην ἀνακλαυσάμενος, εἶπεν· "Ὦ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες, ἔφοροι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων, ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ δικαστὰς γενέσθαι μοι τῶν τε πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα πολιτευμάτων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ παρελη-
3 λυθότος βίου· ἔπειτ', ἐὰν μὲν ἔνοχον εὕρητέ με[1] ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐφ' αἷς ὁ δῆμος κατεψηφίσατό μου, πονηρὰν καὶ ἀσχήμονα τελευτὴν δοῦναι τοῦ βίου, ἐὰν δ' ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἐπιστεύθην ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πολέμους εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πάσης ἀσχήμονος ὑποψίας καθαρόν, τιμωροὺς γενέσθαι μοι, τοιούτους ἐπιστήσαντας τοῖς ἠδικηκόσι κινδύνους καὶ φόβους δι' οὓς ἀναγκασθήσονται μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ὁρῶντες ἐπ' ἐμὲ καταφυγεῖν." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν εἰς πόλιν Ἀρδέαν ᾤχετο. *Ambr.*

VI. (7) Ὑπήκουσαν[2] δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς εὐχαῖς οἱ θεοί, καὶ ὑπὸ Κελτῶν μετὰ μικρὸν ἡ πόλις ἑάλω ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου. καταφυγόντων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν περιφανεστέρων—τὸ γὰρ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς

unaware that his entire estate was but a small fraction of the amount of the fine, but they desired that this man who had won the most famous wars might incur disgrace by being haled to prison by the tribunes. The money was contributed by his clients and relatives from their own funds and paid over, so that he might suffer no indignity; but Camillus, feeling that the insult was unendurable, resolved to quit the city. (6) When he had drawn near the gate and had embraced his friends there present who were lamenting and weeping at the thought of what a great man they were about to lose, he let many a tear roll down his cheeks and bewailed the disgrace that had befallen him, and then said: "Ye gods and genii who watch over the deeds of men, I ask you to become the judges of the measures I have taken with respect to the fatherland and of all my past life. Then, if you find me guilty of the charges on which the people have condemned me, that you will put a bad and shameful end to my life; but if in all the duties with which I have been entrusted by the fatherland both in peace and in war you find me to have been pious and just and free from any shameful suspicion, that you will become my avengers, bringing such perils and terrors upon those who have wronged me that they will be compelled, seeing no other hope of safety, to turn to me for help." After uttering these words he retired to the city of Ardea.

VI. (7) The gods gave ear to his prayers,[1] and a little later the city, with the exception of the Capitol, was captured by the Gauls. When the more prominent men had taken refuge on this hill and were being

[1] *Cf.* Livy v. 45, 7–46, 11; 49, 1-6.

[1] Mai: μοι Q. [2] Cobet: ἐπήκουσαν Q.

Ἰταλικαῖς φεῦγον διεσπάρη πόλεσι—καὶ πολιορκουμένων ὑπὸ Κελτῶν, οἱ παρὰ τὴν Οὐιεντανῶν πόλιν καταφυγόντες Ῥωμαῖοι Καιδίκιόν τινα στρατοπεδάρχην ποιοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλον ἀποδείκνυσι καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπόντα ἡγεμόνα πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης
2 ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ γενόμενος ἡγεμὼν τῆς πρεσβείας παρεκάλει Κάμιλλον διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, τὰς συμφορὰς ἐν αἷς ἦν[1] ἐπιλογισάμενον, δι' ἃς ὑπέμεινεν ἐπὶ τὸν
3 ὑβρισθέντα ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς καταφυγεῖν. (8) ὑποτυχὼν δὲ ὁ Κάμιλλος εἶπεν· "Οὐ δέομαι παρακλήσεως, ὦ Καιδίκιε· αὐτὸς γάρ, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ὑμεῖς ἀφίκεσθε κοινωνεῖν με τῶν πραγμάτων ἀξιοῦντες, ἕτοιμος ἦν ταύτην ἄγων τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν παροῦσαν ὁρᾶτέ μοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἥκειν. ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ θεοί τε καὶ δαίμονες, ὅσοι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐποπτεύετε βίον, ὧν τε ἤδη τετιμήκατέ μοι[2] πολλὴν οἶδα χάριν, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων εὔχομαι καλὴν καὶ εὐτυχῆ τῇ πατρίδι γενέσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν κάθοδον.
4 εἰ δὲ ἐνῆν ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι προϊδεῖν, οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὐξάμην ἐς τοιαύτας ἐλθοῦσαν τύχας τὴν πατρίδα δεηθῆναί μου· μυριάκις δ' ἂν εἱλόμην ἄζηλον γενέσθαι μοι καὶ ἄτιμον τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα βίον ἢ βαρβάρων ἀνθρώπων ὠμότητι γενομένην τὴν Ῥώμην ὑποχείριον ἐπιδεῖν καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ[3] τὰς λοιπὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχουσαν."
5 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις παραλαβὼν ἄφνω τε τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐπιφανεὶς εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς τρέπει καὶ ἐμπεσὼν ἀσυντάκτοις τε καὶ τεταραγμένοις δίκην προβάτων κατέσφαξεν. *Ambr.*

[1] ἦν (or εἴη) Struve : ᾗ Q. [2] με Struve.
[3] Struve : μόνον Q.

besieged by the Gauls,—the rest of the population had fled and dispersed themselves among the cities of Italy,—the Romans who had taken refuge at Veii made a certain Caedicius commander of the army; and he appointed Camillus, absent though he was, to be general with absolute power over war and peace. And having been made leader of the embassy, he urged Camillus to become reconciled with the fatherland, bearing in mind the calamities encompassing it, such that it could bring itself to turn for help to the man whom it had despitefully used. (8) Camillus replied: "I need no urging, Caedicius. For of my own accord, if you envoys had not come first asking me to share in the conduct of affairs, I was ready to go to you at the head of this force which you see here with me. And to you, O gods and genii who watch over the lives of mortals, I am not only very grateful for the honours which ye have already shown me, but I also pray with regard to the future that my return home may prove a good and fortunate thing for the fatherland. If it were possible for a mortal to forcsee the things that are to be, I never would have prayed that my country should come into such misfortunes as these, so as to need me; a thousand times over I should have preferred that my life henceforth should be unenvied and without honour rather than that I should see Rome subjected to the cruelty of barbarians and placing her remaining hopes of safety in me alone." After speaking thus he took his forces, and appearing suddenly before the Gauls, turned them to flight; and falling upon them while they were in disorder and confusion, he slew them like sheep.

VII. (9) Ἔτι δ' οὖν πολιορκουμένων τῶν ἐν τῷ[1] Καπιτωλίῳ καταφυγόντων νέος τις ἀπὸ τῆς Οὐιεντανῶν πόλεως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πεμφθεὶς εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ[2] λαθὼν τοὺς αὐτόθι φυλάσσοντας Κελτοὺς ἀνῆλθέ τε καὶ εἰπὼν ὅσα
2 ἔδει πάλιν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπηλλάγη. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τῶν Κελτῶν τις ἰδὼν τὰ ἴχνη λέγει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἐδήλωσεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ἄνοδον· ἔπειτ' αὐτοὺς ἠξίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ παρασχομένους τόλμαν πειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀναβάσεως, πολλὰς ὑπισχνούμενος τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι δωρεάς. ὁμολογησάντων δὲ συχνῶν παρήγγειλε τοῖς φύλαξιν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἵνα καθεύδειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ὕπνον τράπωνται.
3 (10) ἤδη δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἀναβεβηκότων καὶ τοὺς ὑστερίζοντας ἀναδεχομένων, ἵνα πλείους γενόμενοι τότε ἀποσφάξωσι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς φυλακαῖς καὶ καταλάβωνται τὸ ἔρυμα, ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔμαθεν, ἱεροὶ δέ τινες Ἥρας χῆνες ἐν τῷ τεμένει τρεφόμενοι καταβοῶντες ἅμα καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμόσε χωροῦντες κατήγοροι γίνονται τοῦ κακοῦ.
4 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ταραχή τε καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ δρόμος[3] ἁπάντων ἦν παρακαλούντων ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ οἱ Κελτοὶ δὲ[4] πλείους ἤδη γεγονότες ἐχώρουν ἐνδοτέρω. *Ambr.*

VIII. (11) Ἐνθάδε τις τῶν ἐσχηκότων τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, Μάρκος Μάλλιος, ἁρπάσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ συστὰς τοῖς βαρβάροις τόν τε πρῶτον ἀναβάντα καὶ[5] κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ξίφος

[1] τῷ added by Struve. [2] καὶ deleted by Struve.
[3] ὁ before δρόμος deleted by Struve.

VII. (9) While those who had taken refuge on the Capitol [1] were still being besieged, a youth who had been sent by the Romans from Veii to those on the Capitol and had escaped the notice of the Gauls who were on guard there, went up, delivered his message, and departed again by night. When it was day, one of the Gauls saw his tracks and reported it to the king, who called together the bravest of his men and showed them where the Roman had gone up, then asked them to display the same bravery as the Roman and attempt to ascend to the citadel, promising many gifts to those who should make the ascent. When many undertook to do so, he commanded the guards to remain quiet, in order that the Romans, supposing them to be asleep, might themselves turn to sleep. (10) When the first men had now ascended and were waiting for those who lagged behind, in order that when their numbers were increased they might then slay the garrison and capture the stronghold, no mortal became aware of it; but some sacred geese of Juno which were being raised in the sanctuary, by making a clamour and at the same time rushing at the barbarians, gave notice of the peril. Thereupon there was confusion, shouting and rushing about on the part of all as they encouraged one another to take up arms; and the Gauls, whose numbers were now increased, advanced farther inside.

VIII. (11) Thereupon one of the men who had held the office of consul, Marcus Manlius, snatched up his arms and engaged with the barbarians. The one of them who had ascended first and was bringing

[1] For chaps. 7 f. *cf.* Livy v. 47.

[4] δὲ added by Struve.
[5] καὶ added by Kiessling.

φέροντα φθάσας παίει[1] κατὰ τοῦ βραχίονος καὶ
2 ἀποκόπτει τὸν ἀγκῶνα· καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὶν[2]
εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὀρθῷ τῷ θυρεῷ πατάξας εἰς τὸ
πρόσωπον ἀνατρέπει καὶ κείμενον ἀποσφάττει, ἔπ-
ειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τεταραγμένους ἤδη ἐλαύνων ὑπὸ
πόδας, οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὓς δὲ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ
διώκων ἐξέχεεν. ἀντὶ ταύτης εὕρατο τῆς ἀριστείας
τὴν πρέπουσαν τῷ τότε καιρῷ δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν
κατεχόντων τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἴνου καὶ ζέας τὴν[3]
3 ἐφήμερον ἀνδρὸς ἑκάστου τροφήν. (12) περὶ δὲ
τῶν ἐν[4] ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐκλιπόν-
των καθ' ὃν ἀνέβησαν οἱ Κελτοὶ ζητήσεως γενο-
μένης ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θάνατον
ἁπάντων κατεψηφίσατο, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπιεικέστερος
γενόμενος ἑνὸς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος αὐτῶν ἠρκέσθη τῇ
4 κολάσει. ἵνα δὲ φανερὸς γένοιτο τοῖς βαρβάροις
ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ, δεθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ὀπίσω κατὰ
τοῦ κρημνοῦ βάλλεται πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐκείνου δὲ
τιμωρηθέντος οὐδὲν ἔτι ῥᾴθυμον ἦν τῶν περὶ τὰς
φυλακάς, ἀλλὰ παννύχιοι διετέλουν ἅπαντες ἐγρη-
γορότες, ὥστε τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀπογνόντας δι'
ἀπάτης ἢ κλοπῆς καθέξειν τὸ φρούριον περὶ λύτρων
διαλέγεσθαι, ἃ τοῖς βαρβάροις δόντες κομιοῦνται
τὴν πόλιν. *Ambr.*

IX. (13) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ὅρκια ἐπετέλεσαν καὶ τὸ
χρυσίον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατήνεγκαν, σταθμὸς μὲν ἦν
ὃν ἔδει τοὺς Κελτοὺς λαβεῖν ε' καὶ κ' τάλαντα·
τεθέντος δὲ τοῦ ζυγοῦ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ τάλαντον
ὁ Κελτὸς βαρύτερον τοῦ δικαίου παρῆν φέρων,

[1] *πάλει* Q. [2] ἢ after *πρὶν* deleted by Kiessling.
[3] *τὴν* Mai : *τὸ* Q. [4] *ἐν* added by Struve.

his sword down over Manlius' head he forestalled by striking him on the arm and cutting off his forearm, and the one who followed the first he struck in the face with his raised shield before he could come to close quarters, knocked him down and slew him as he lay there; then pressing hard upon the others, who were now in confusion, he killed some of them and pursued and pushed others over the cliff. For this act of valour he received from those who were holding the Capitol the award which was suited to those times, a man's daily ration of wine and emmer. (12) When the question was raised what should be done in the case of those sentries who had deserted their post where the Gauls ascended, the senate voted the death penalty against them all; but the populace, showing itself more lenient, was content with the punishment of one man, their leader. However, in order that his death might be manifest to the barbarians, he was hurled down upon them from the cliff with his hands bound behind his back. When he had been punished, there was no further carelessness on the part of the sentries, but they all kept awake the whole night long. In consequence, the Gauls, despairing of taking the fortress by deceit or surprise, began to talk of a ransom, by the payment of which to the barbarians the Romans would get back the city.

IX. (13) When they had made their compact[1] and the Romans had brought the gold, the weight which the Gauls were to receive was twenty-five talents. But when the balance had been set up, the Gaul first came with the weight itself, representing the talent,

[1] *Cf.* Livy v. 48, 8 f.

ἔπειτα ἀγανακτούντων πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοσούτου ἐδέησε μετριάσαι περὶ τὸ δίκαιον ὥστε καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἅμα τῇ θήκῃ καὶ τῷ ζωστῆρι
2 περιελόμενος ἐπέθηκε τοῖς σταθμοῖς. τῷ δὲ ταμίᾳ πυνθανομένῳ τί θέλει τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ἀπεκρίνατο τούτοις τοῖς[1] ὀνόμασιν· "Ὀδύνη τοῖς κεκρατημένοις." ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ συγκείμενος σταθμὸς οὐκ ἐξεπληροῦτο διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κελτοῦ πλεονεξίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐνέδει μέρος, ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνον εἰς συμπορισμὸν τοῦ λείποντος αἰτησάμενοι· ὑπέμειναν δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν τῶν βαρβάρων οὐθὲν ἐγνωκότες τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πραττομένων παρὰ Καιδικίου καὶ Καμίλλου, ὡς ἔφαμεν. *Ambr.*

X. (14) Ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς εἰς[2] Ἰταλίαν τῶν Κελτῶν ἀφίξεως τοιάδε ἦν. Λοκόμων τις Τυρρηνῶν ἡγεμὼν μέλλων τελευτᾶν τὸν βίον ἀνδρὶ πιστῷ Ἄρροντι ὄνομα παρακατέθετο τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιτροπεύειν· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ παιδίου ὁ Ἄρρων ἐπιμελὴς καὶ δίκαιος γέγονε[3] τῆς πίστεως φύλαξ, καὶ εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθόντι πᾶσαν ἀπέδειξε τῷ παιδὶ τὴν καταλειφθεῖσαν[4] ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίαν. ἀνθ' ὧν οὐχ ὁμοίας ἐκομίσατο παρὰ τοῦ μειρακίου χάρι-
2 τας. (15) οὔσης γὰρ αὐτῷ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου καὶ νέας, ἧς περὶ πλείστου τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐποιεῖτο, σώφρονος τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἅπαντα γενομένης ἐρασθεὶς ὁ νεανίσκος ἅμα τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς ἀνθρώπου διέφθειρεν, καὶ[5] οὐκέτι κρύβδα ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν ἐζήτει αὐτῇ διαλέγεσθαι. ἀχθό-

[1] *τοῖς* added by Struve. [2] *εἰς* (*ἐς*) added by Mai.
[3] *ἐγεγόνει* Struve. [4] Struve : *καταληφθεῖσαν* Q.

heavier than was right, and then, when the Romans expressed resentment at this, he was so far from being reasonable and just that he also threw into the scales his sword together with the scabbard and also his belt, which he had taken off. And to the quaestor's inquiry what that action meant, he replied in these words: "Woe to the vanquished!" When the full weight agreed upon was not made up because of the Gaul's greediness, but the third part was lacking, the Romans departed after asking for time to collect the amount wanting. They submitted to this insolence of the barbarians because they were quite unaware of what was being done in the camp, as I have related, by Caedicius and Camillus.

X. (14) The reason why the Gauls came into Italy was as follows.[1] A certain Lucumo, a prince of the Tyrrhenians, being about to die, entrusted his son to a loyal man named Arruns as guardian. Upon the death of the Tyrrhenian, Arruns, taking over the guardianship of the boy, proved diligent and just in carrying out his trust, and when the boy came to manhood, turned over to him the entire estate left by his father. For this service he did not receive similar kindness from the youth. (15) It seems that Arruns had a beautiful young wife, of whose society he was extremely fond and who had always shown herself chaste up to that time; but the young man, becoming enamoured of her, corrupted her mind as well as her body, and sought to hold converse with her not only in secret but openly as well. Arruns,

[1] For chaps. 10 f. *cf.* Livy v. 33–35, 4.

[5] καὶ added by Mai.

μενος δὴ ὁ Ἄρρων τῷ ἀποσπασμῷ[1] τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ὑβρίζετο πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων δυσανασχετῶν, τιμωρίαν δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, ἀποδημίαν ἐστείλατο πρόφασιν αὐτῆς ποιησάμενος
3 ἐμπορίαν. ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ δεξαμένου καὶ παρασχόντος ὅσων εἰς τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐδεῖτο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀσκοὺς οἴνου τε καὶ ἐλαίου ταῖς ἁμάξαις ἐπιθέμενος, πολλοὺς δὲ φορμοὺς σύκων, ἦγεν εἰς τὴν Κελτικήν. *Ambr.*

XI. (16) Οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ οὔτε οἶνον ἀμπέλινον εἰδότες τηνικαῦτα οὔτε ἔλαιον οἷον αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐλαῖαι φέρουσιν, ἀλλ' οἴνῳ μὲν χρώμενοι κριθῆς σαπείσης ἐν ὕδατι χυλῷ δυσώδει, ἐλαίῳ δὲ συείῳ στέατι πεπαλαιωμένῳ τήν τε ὀδμὴν καὶ τὴν γεῦσιν ἀτόπῳ, τότε δὲ[2] πρῶτον ἀπολαύσαντες ὧν οὔπω ἐγεύσαντο καρπῶν, θαυμαστὰς ὅσας ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ ἐλάμβανον ἡδονὰς καὶ τὸν ξένον ἠρώτων πῶς τε γίνεται τούτων ἕκαστον καὶ παρὰ τίσιν ἀνθρώποις.
2 (17) ὁ δὲ Τυρρηνὸς πρὸς αὐτούς φησιν ὅτι γῆ μέν ἐστιν ἡ τούτους ἐκφέρουσα τοὺς καρποὺς πολλὴ καὶ ἀγαθή, νέμονται δὲ αὐτὴν ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ εἰς πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἀμείνους γυναικῶν, ὑπέθετό τε αὐτοῖς μὴ δι' ὠνῆς αὐτὰ παρ' ἑτέρων ἔτι λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς τότε κυρίους ὡς οἰκεῖα καρποῦσθαι. τούτοις δὴ τοῖς λόγοις οἱ Κελτοὶ πειθόμενοι ἦλθον εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Τυρρηνῶν τοὺς καλουμένους Κλουσίνους,[3] ὅθεν ἦν καὶ ὁ πείσας αὐτοὺς πολεμεῖν.[4] *Ambr.*

XII. (18) Ἀποσταλέντων δὲ πρεσβευτῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ Κελτούς, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν εἷς τῶν πρεσβευόντων, Κόιντος Φάβιος, τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ

[1] Struve : ἀσπασμῷ Q. [2] δὲ added by Struve.

grieving at the seduction of his wife and distressed by the wanton wrong done him by them both, yet unable to take vengeance upon them, prepared for a sojourn abroad, ostensibly for the purpose of trading. When the youth welcomed his departure and provided everything that was necessary for trading, he loaded many skins of wine and olive oil and many baskets of figs on the waggons and set out for Gaul.

XI. (16) The Gauls at that time had no knowledge either of wine made from grapes or of oil such as is produced by our olive trees, but used for wine a foul-smelling liquor made from barley rotted in water, and for oil, stale lard, disgusting both in smell and taste. On that occasion, accordingly, when for the first time they enjoyed fruits which they had never before tasted, they got wonderful pleasure out of each; and they asked the stranger how each of these articles was produced and among what men. (17) The Tyrrhenian told them that the country producing these fruits was large and fertile and that it was inhabited by only a few people, who were no better than women when it came to warfare; and he advised them to get these products no longer by purchase from others, but to drive out the present owners and enjoy the fruits as their own. Persuaded by these words, the Gauls came into Italy and to the Tyrrhenians known as the Clusians,[1] from whence had come the man who persuaded them to make war.

XII. (18) When ambassadors had been sent from Rome to the Gauls [2] and one of them, Quintus Fabius, heard that the barbarians had gone out on a foraging

[1] The inhabitants of Clusium in Etruria.

[2] *Cf.* Livy v. 35, 5–43, 5.

[3] κλουσήνους Q. [4] ἐπολέμουν Kiessling.

προνομὴν ἐξεληλυθέναι, συνάπτει πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν τῶν Κελτῶν ἡγεμόνα ἀναιρεῖ· ἀποστείλαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ βάρβαροι ἠξίουν[1] παραδιδόναι σφίσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκδότους ποινὰς ὑφέξοντας τῶν ἀπολωλότων.
2 (19) παρελκούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην τὸν πόλεμον ἀναγκαίως[2] οἱ Κελτοὶ μετήγαγον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἐξῆεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄγοντες ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τε καὶ κατηθλημένων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις στρατιωτῶν τέτταρα τάγματα ἐντελῆ· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τοὺς κατοικιδίους τε καὶ σχολαίους καὶ ἧττον ὠμιληκότας πολέμοις πλείους ὄντας ἀριθμῷ τῶν ἑτέρων. τούτους δὴ τρεψάμενοι οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ[3] σύμπασαν τὴν Ῥώμην ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου παρεστήσαντο. *Ambr.*

[1] ἠξίουν A : ἠξίου Q.
[2] ἀναγκαίως Q : ἐξαπιναίως Struve, ἀγανακτοῦντες Hertlein.
[3] καὶ deleted by Kiessling.

Νέπετος, πόλις Ἰταλίας. Διονύσιος τρισκαιδεκάτῳ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Νεπεσῖνος. *Stephanus Byz.*

expedition, he joined battle with them and slew the leader of the Gauls. The barbarians, sending to Rome, demanded that Fabius and his brother be handed over to them to pay the penalty for the men who had been slain. (19) When the senate delayed its answer, the Gauls of necessity transferred the war to Rome. Upon hearing this, the Romans marched out of the city, bringing four entire legions of picked troops well trained in the wars, and also, from among the other citizens, those who led indoor or easy lives and had had less to do with wars, these being more numerous than the other sort. The Gauls, having put these forces to rout, reduced all of Rome except the Capitol.

Nepete, a city of Italy. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xiii. *Eth.*[1] Nepesinus. (*Cf.* Livy vi. 9 f., 21.)

[1] The Greek word *ethnikon*, originally an adjective meaning " national," " pertaining to a nation or people," came to be used by the grammarians virtually as a noun meaning " the word for the inhabitant(s) " (of the country or place named). In the excerpts from Stephanus of Byzantium added at the ends of the various books it will be abbreviated as *Eth.* Since there are no recognized English forms in use for the inhabitants of most of the cities named in these excerpts, it seems best to render the Greek names by the Latin equivalents, even when these differ considerably in formation, as in the case of some at the end of Book XVIII.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XIV

I. (1) Ἡ δὲ Κελτικὴ κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν καθήκοντι[1] τῆς Εὐρώπης μέρει μεταξὺ τοῦ τε βορείου πόλου καὶ τῆς ἰσημερινῆς δύσεως· τετράγωνος δὲ οὖσα τῷ σχήματι τοῖς μὲν Ἀλπείοις ὄρεσι μεγίστοις οὖσι τῶν Εὐρωπείων συνάπτει κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολάς, τοῖς δὲ Πυρρηναίοις κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον, τῇ δὲ ἔξω στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὰς δύσεις, τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ τε καὶ Θρᾳκίῳ γένει κατὰ βορέαν ἄνεμον καὶ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον, ὃς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπείων καταβαίνων ὀρῶν μέγιστος τῶν τῇδε ποταμῶν καὶ
2 πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρκτοις ἤπειρον διελθὼν εἰς τὸ[2] Ποντικὸν ἐξερεύγεται πέλαγος. (2) τοσαύτη δὲ οὖσα τὸ μέγεθος ὅση μὴ πολὺ ἀποδεῖν τετάρτη λέγεσθαι μοῖρα τῆς Εὐρώπης, εὔυδρός τε καὶ πίειρα καὶ καρποῖς δαψιλὴς καὶ κτήνεσιν ἀρίστη νέμεσθαι, σχίζεται μέση ποταμῷ Ῥήνῳ, μεγίστῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἴστρον εἶναι δοκοῦντι τῶν κατὰ τὴν

[1] καθήκοντα Q. [2] τὸν Q.

EXCERPTS
FROM
BOOK XIV

I. (1) The country of the Celts [1] lies in the part of Europe which extends toward the West, between the North pole and the equinoctial setting of the sun. Having the shape of a square, it is bounded by the Alps, the loftiest of the European mountains, on the East, by the Pyrenees toward the meridian and the south wind, by the sea that lies beyond the Pillars of Hercules on the West, and by the Scythian and Thracian nations toward the north wind and the river Ister, which, descending from the Alps as the largest of the rivers on this side, and flowing through the whole continent that lies beneath the Bears, empties into the Pontic sea. (2) This land, which is so large in extent that it may be called almost the fourth part of Europe and is well-watered, fertile, rich in crops and most excellent for grazing cattle, is divided in the middle by the river Rhine, reputed to be the

[1] *Cf.* Livy v. 34–35, 4. Dionysius regularly calls the Gauls Celts, though he uses the term Galatia when referring to Gaul proper or to the Roman province of Gaul. Up to this point his "Celts" has been consistently rendered as "Gauls"; but in the present chapter, as will be seen just below, he includes Germany as part of the Celtic world.

3 Εὐρώπην ποταμῶν. καλεῖται δ' ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ῥήνου Σκύθαις καὶ Θραξὶν ὁμοροῦσα Γερμανία, μέχρι δρυμοῦ Ἑρκυνίου[1] καὶ τῶν Ῥιπαίων ὀρῶν καθήκουσα, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλέποντα[2] μέχρι Πυρρήνης ὄρους, ἡ τὸν Γαλατικὸν κόλπον περιλαμβάνουσα,[3] Γαλατία τῆς
4 θαλάττης ἐπώνυμος. (3) κοινῷ δ' ὀνόματι ἡ σύμπασα πρὸς Ἑλλήνων καλεῖται Κελτική, ὡς μέν τινές φασιν, ἀπό τινος γίγαντος Κελτοῦ αὐτόθι δυναστεύσαντος· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀστερόπης τῆς Ἀτλαντίδος δύο γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσι παῖδας, Ἴβηρον καὶ Κελτόν, οὓς θέσθαι ταῖς χώραις ὧν ἦρξαν ἀμφότεροι τὰς ὀνομασίας
5 ἀφ' αὑτῶν. οἱ δὲ ποταμὸν εἶναί τινα λέγουσι Κελτὸν ἐκ τῆς Πυρρήνης ἀναδιδόμενον, ἀφ' οὗ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν σύνεγγυς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν σὺν χρόνῳ κληθῆναι Κελτικήν. φασὶ δὲ καί τινες ὅτι τοῖς πρώτοις Ἕλλησιν εἰς τήνδε τὴν γῆν περαιουμένοις αἱ νῆες ἀνέμῳ βιαίῳ φερόμεναι κατὰ τὸν κόλπον ἔκελσαν τὸν Γαλατικόν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐλάβοντο, Κελσικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος αὐτοῖς πάθους τὴν χώραν ἐκάλεσαν, ἣν ἑνὸς ἀλλαγῇ γράμματος οἱ μεταγενέστεροι Κελτικὴν ὠνόμασαν. *Ambr.*

II. (4) Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐν τοῦ γηγενοῦς Ἐρεχθέως τῷ σηκῷ[4] ἱερά τις ὑπ' Ἀθηνᾶς φυτευθεῖσα ἐλαία κατὰ τὴν ἔριν τὴν γενομένην αὐτῇ πρὸς Ποσειδῶνα περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὖσιν ἐμπρησθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅτε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκράτησαν, δευτέρᾳ τῆς ἐμπρήσεως

[1] ταρκηνίου or ταρκυνίου Q.
[2] βλέπουσα Struve.

largest river in Europe after the Ister. The part on this side of the Rhine, bordering upon the Scythians and Thracians, is called Germany, and extends as far as the Hercynian forest and the Rhipaean mountains ; the other part, on the side facing the South, as far as the Pyrenees range and embracing the Gallic gulf, is called Gaul after the sea. (3) The whole country is called by the Greeks by the common name Celtica (Keltikê), according to some, from a giant Celtus who ruled there ; others, however, have a legend that to Hercules and Asteropê, the daughter of Atlas, were born two sons, Iberus and Celtus, who gave their own names to the lands which they ruled. Others state that there is a river Celtus rising in the Pyrenees, after which the neighbouring region at first, and in time the rest of the land as well, was called Celtica. There are also some who say that when the first Greeks came to this region their ships, driven by a violent wind, came to land in the Gallic gulf, and that the men upon reaching shore called the country Celsica (Kelsikê) because of this experience of theirs [1] ; and later generations, by the change of one letter, called it Celtica.

II. (4) At Athens, in the shrine of earth-born Erechtheus, an olive tree, planted by Athena at the time of her strife with Poseidon for the possession of the land, having been burned together with the other objects in the sanctuary by the barbarians when they captured the Acropolis, sent up from its stock a shoot

[1] Dionysius is deriving the name from the verb *κέλλειν* (aorist infinitive *κέλσαι*), " to put to shore."

[3] Struve : *παραλαμβάνουσα* Q.

[4] *ἐν τοῦ γ.* 'E. *τῷ σηκῷ* Kiessling : *ἐν τῇ γ.* 'E. *τῷ σηκῷ* Q, *ἐν τῷ γ.* 'E. *σηκῷ* Mai, *ἐν τῷ τοῦ γ.* 'E. *σηκῷ* Struve.

ἡμέρᾳ[1] βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχους ἀνῆκεν ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον,[2] δῆλον ἅπασι ποιῆσαι βουλομένων τῶν θεῶν ὅτι ταχέως ἑαυτὴν ἡ πόλις ἀναλαβοῦσα βλα-
2 στοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξοίσει νέους. (5) ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καλιάς[3] τις Ἄρεος ἱερὰ περὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἱδρυμένη τοῦ Παλατίου[4] συγκαταφλεγεῖσα ταῖς πέριξ οἰκίαις ἕως ἐδάφους, ἀνακαθαιρομένων τῶν οἰκοπέδων ἕνεκα τῆς ἐπισκευῆς, ἐν μέσῃ τῇ περικαύστῳ σποδῷ τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως διέσωσεν ἀπαθές, ῥόπαλον ἐκ θατέρου τῶν ἄκρων ἐπικάμπιον,[5] οἷα φέρουσι βουκόλοι καὶ νομεῖς, οἱ μὲν καλαύροπας, οἱ δὲ λαγωβόλα καλοῦντες, ᾧ Ῥωμύλος ὀρνιθευόμενος διέγραφε τῶν οἰωνῶν τὰς χώρας ὅτε τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζειν ἔμελλεν.
3 Εὐζώνῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν ὅπλων φερούσῃ στρατιᾷ.

Κρότου καταρραγέντος, ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ μὲν θεάματι, καλλίστῳ δ' ἀκούσματι, οἵ τε βεβαίως ἄποροι καὶ οἱ πλαττόμενοι τὴν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπορίαν. *Ambr.*

III. (8) Ὅτι Μάρκος Φούριος ὁ δικτάτωρ ἀνὴρ ἦν τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκμασάντων ἡλικίαν τά τε πολέμια λαμπρότατος καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ[6] φρονιμώτατος. *Vales.*

IV. (6) Μάλλιος, ὁ ἀριστεύσας ὅτε εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον Ῥωμαῖοι κατέφυγον, κινδυνεύων διὰ τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν ἀπολέσθαι, βλέψας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνας εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ νεὼν τοῦ Διὸς εἶπεν· " Οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος

[1] δευτέρᾳ . . . ἡμέρᾳ Struve : δευτέραν . . . ἡμέραν Q.
[2] παχυαῖον Q. [3] Kiessling : καλιά Q.
[4] παλαντίου Q.

about a cubit in length the day after the fire, the gods wishing to make it manifest to all that the city would quickly recover itself and send up new shoots in place of the old. (5) In Rome likewise a sacred hut of Mars, built near the summit of the Palatine, was burned to the ground together with the houses round about ; but when the area was being cleared for the purpose of restoring the buildings, it preserved unharmed in the midst of the surrounding ashes the symbol of the settlement of the city, a staff curved at one end, like those carried by herdsmen and shepherds, which some call *kalauropes* and others *lagobola*. With this staff Romulus, on the occasion of taking the auspices when he was intending to found the city, marked out the regions for the omens.

With an army of light troops carrying nothing but their arms.

Applause having burst forth, as if at something most magnificent to behold and most glorious to hear, both those who were genuinely perplexed and those who feigned extreme perplexity . . .

III. (8) Marcus Furius the dictator [1] was of all his contemporaries the most brilliant in warfare and the shrewdest in handling public affairs.

IV. (6) Manlius,[2] the man who had distinguished himself for valour at the time when the Romans took refuge on the Capitol, when he was in danger of losing his life because of an attempt at tyranny, looked toward the Capitol, and stretching out his hands toward the temple of Jupiter that stood upon it, exclaimed :

[1] *Cf.* Livy v. 19, 2 ; 23, 1.
[2] *Cf.* Livy vi. 20, 1-12.

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[5] Struve : *ἐπικάμπτον* Q, *ἐπικάμπτων* A.
[6] *πολιτικὰ* Valesius : *πολεμικὰ* P.

ἱκανὸς ἔσται με σῶσαι ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κρατηθέντα διέσωσα ὑμῖν ἐγώ; ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀπέθνησκον καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀποθανοῦμαι." τότε μὲν οὖν συμπαθήσαντες ἀφῆκαν αὐτόν, ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ κρημνοῦ ἐρρίφη. *Ambr.*

V. (7) Κρατήσας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπικλύσας ταῖς ὠφελείαις Τίτος Κοΐντιος δικτατορεύων ἐν ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις ἐννέα πολεμίων ἔλαβεν.

Ληφθέντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀγεληδὸν οἱ θεοστυγεῖς κατεκόπησαν. *Ambr.*

VI. (8) Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντων ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν πόλεων πράγμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις πρὸς τὰ τελευταῖα τῶν συμβαινόντων τὰς διανοίας μεθαρμοττομένων καὶ πολλάκις ἔχθρας τε μεγάλας διὰ τὰς τυχούσας φιλανθρωπίας καταλυομένων καὶ φιλίας πολυχρονίους διὰ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα προσκρούματα διαιρούντων, ἐκεῖνοι τοὐναντίον ἐπὶ τῶν φίλων ὤοντο χρῆναι ποιεῖν, ταῖς τε[1] παλαιαῖς εὐεργεσίαις χαρίζεσθαι τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς προσφάτοις
2 ἐγκλήμασιν ὀργάς. (9) θαυμαστὸν μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν· λέγω δὲ[2] τὸ μηδενὶ μνησικακῆσαι τῶν Τυσκλανῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντας ἀζημίους· πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου θαυμασιώτερον ὃ μετὰ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς ἐχαρίσαντο.[3] σκοπούμενοι γὰρ ὡς[4] μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ πόλει γενήσεται μηδ' ἀφορμὴν νεωτερισμοῦ λήψονταί τινες, οὔτε φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῶν ὤοντο δεῖν εἰσάγειν οὔτε παρὰ

[1] τε added by Valesius. [2] δὲ added by Valesius.
[3] Valesius : ἐχαρίσατο P. [4] πῶς Naber, ὅπως Jacoby.

" Shall not even that place avail to save me which I preserved safe for you Romans when it had been captured by the barbarians? Nay, not only was I then ready to perish in your behalf, but now also I shall perish at your hands." On this occasion, then, they let him off out of compassion, but later he was hurled down the precipice.

V. (7) Having vanquished the enemy and loaded down his army with countless spoils, Titus Quintius, while serving as dictator, took nine cities of the enemy in nine days.[1]

Hemmed in on both sides, these god-detested people were cut down in droves.

VI. (8) The Romans are magnanimous.[2] For, whereas nearly all others both in the public relations of their states and in their private lives change their feelings according to the latest developments, often laying aside great enmities because of chance acts of kindness and breaking up long-standing friendships because of slight and trivial offences, the Romans thought they ought to do just the opposite in the case of their friends and out of gratitude for ancient benefits to give up their resentment over recent causes for complaint. (9) Even this, then, was remarkable on the part of those men, namely that they bore no malice against any of the Tusculans, but let all the offenders go unpunished ; yet much more remarkable than this was the favour which they showed them after pardoning their offences. For when they were considering ways and means that nothing of the sort might happen again in that city and that none might find a ground for rebellion, they thought they ought neither to introduce a garrison into the Tusculans' citadel nor

[1] *Cf.* Livy vi. 28, 3 ; 29, 3-10. [2] *Cf.* Livy vi. 25 f.

τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ὅμηρα λαμβάνειν οὔτε ὅπλα τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφελέσθαι οὔτ' ἄλλο σημεῖον
3 οὐδὲν ἀπιστουμένης φιλίας ποιῆσαι· μίαν δὲ πρᾶξιν οἰόμενοι συνέχειν[1] ἅπαντας τοὺς κατὰ[2] συγγένειαν ἢ φιλίαν προσήκοντας ἀλλήλοις τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἰσομοιρίαν, πολιτείαν ἔγνωσαν τοῖς κρατηθεῖσι χαρίσασθαι, πάντων μεταδόντες ὧν τοῖς φύσει Ῥωμαίοις μετῆν, (10) οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν λαβόντες τοῖς ἀξιοῦσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν οὔτ'
4 Ἀθηναίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων λέγειν; Ἀθηναῖοι μέν γε Σαμίους ἀποίκους ἑαυτῶν ὄντας, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Μεσσηνίους ἀδελφῶν οὐδὲν διαφέροντας, ἐπειδὴ προσέκρουσαν αὐτοῖς τι, διαλυσάμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν οὕτως ὠμῶς διεχειρίσαντο καὶ θηριωδῶς, ἐπειδὴ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβον, ὥστε μηδὲ τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τὰ ὁμόφυλα παρανομίας παραλιπεῖν.
5 (11) μυρία τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἄν τις ἔχοι ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις ἡμαρτημένα, ἃ παρίημι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτων μεμνημένος ἄχθομαι· τὸ γὰρ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐκ ὀνόματι διαφέρειν τοῦ βαρβάρου ἠξίουν οὐδὲ διαλέκτου χάριν, ἀλλὰ συνέσει καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων προαιρέσει, μάλιστα δὲ τῷ μηδὲν[3] τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν εἰς[4] ἀλλήλους παρανομεῖν. ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ταῦτα[5] ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τῇ φύσει, τούτους οἶμαι δεῖν λέγειν Ἕλληνας, ὅσοις δὲ
6 τἀναντία, βαρβάρους. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ

[1] *συνέχειν* added here by Prou, after *πρᾶξιν* by Valesius. Jacoby suggested *καθομιλεῖν*, to follow *οἰόμενοι*.
[2] *κατὰ* Valesius : *κατὰ τὴν* P.
[3] Reiske : *μηδενὶ* P(?), Valesius.

to take hostages from the most prominent men nor to deprive of their arms those who had them nor to give any other indication of distrusting their friendship ; but believing that the one thing that holds together all who belong to one another by reason either of kinship or friendship is the equal sharing of their blessings, they decided to grant citizenship to the vanquished, giving them a part in everything in which the native-born Romans shared. (10) Thereby they took a very different view from that held by those who laid claim to the leadership of Greece, whether Athenians or Lacedaemonians—what need is there to mention the other Greeks ? For the Athenians in the case of the Samians, their own colonists, and the Lacedaemonians in the case of the Messenians, who were the same as their brothers, when these gave them some offence, dissolved the ties of kinship, and after subjugating their cities, treated them with such cruelty and brutality as to equal even the most savage of barbarians in their mistreatment of people of kindred stock. (11) One could name countless blunders of this sort made by these cities, but I pass over them since it grieves me to mention even these instances. For I would distinguish Greeks from barbarians, not by their name nor on the basis of their speech, but by their intelligence and their predilection for decent behaviour, and particularly by their indulging in no inhuman treatment of one another. All in whose nature these qualities predominated I believe ought to be called Greeks, but those of whom the opposite was true, barbarians. Likewise, their plans and actions which

[4] εἰς Reiske, πρὸς Kiessling : om. P.
[5] ταῦτα Reiske, τάδε Krüger : τὰ P.

were reasonable and humane, I consider to be Greek, but those which were cruel and brutal, particularly when they affected kinsmen and friends, barbarous. The Tusculans departed, accordingly, not only without having been deprived of their possessions after the capture of their city, but having actually received in addition the blessings enjoyed by their conquerors.

VII. Sulpicius, with the cognomen Rufus,[1] was a man of distinction in military affairs and in his political principles followed the middle course.

VIII. (12) The Gauls,[2] having made an expedition against Rome for the second time, were plundering the Alban district. There, as all gorged themselves with much food, drank much unmixed wine (the wine produced there is the sweetest of all wines after the Falernian and is the most like honey-wine), took more sleep than was their custom, and spent most of their time in the shade, they gained so rapidly in corpulence and flabbiness and became so womanish in physical strength that whenever they undertook to exercise their bodies and to drill in arms their respiration was broken by continual panting, their limbs were drenched by much sweat, and they desisted from their toils before they were bidden to do so by their commanders.

IX. (13) Upon learning of this state of affairs the Roman dictator, Camillus, assembled his men and addressed them, using many arguments that incited them to boldness, among which were the following : " Better arms than the barbarians possess have been fashioned for us—breastplates, helmets, greaves,

[1] *Cf.* Livy vi. 4, 7 and 18, 1.
[2] For chaps. 8–10 *cf.* Livy vi. 42, 4-8.

[2] Hertlein : στρατεύσαντες A. [3] ἀφ' Q.

μῖδες καὶ κραταιοὶ θυρεοί, ὑφ' ὧν ὅλα τὰ σώματα ἔχομεν ἐν φυλακῇ, ξίφη τε ἀμφίστομα καὶ ἀντὶ λόγχης ὑσσός,[1] ἄφυκτον βέλος, τὰ μὲν σκεπαστήρια, οἷα μὴ ῥᾳδίως ταῖς πληγαῖς εἴκειν, τὰ δ' ἀμυντήρια, ὡς διὰ πάσης[2] φέρεσθαι προβολῆς. τῶν δὲ γυμναὶ μὲν αἱ κεφαλαί, γυμνὰ δὲ τὰ στέρνα καὶ αἱ λαγόνες, γυμνοὶ δὲ μηροὶ καὶ σκέλη μέχρι ποδῶν, ἔρυμά τε οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὅ τι μὴ θυρεοί· ἀμυντήρια δὲ λόγχαι καὶ μάχαιραι[3] κοπίδες ὑπερ-
3 μήκεις. (14) τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιησόμεθα σύνεργον ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ μετεώρου[4] κατιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρανές, ἐκείνοις δὲ πολέμιον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ χθαμαλοῦ πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα χωρεῖν ἀναγκαζομένοις. φοβείσθω[5] δὲ μηδεὶς[6] ὑμῶν μήτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων μήτε τὸ μέγεθος, μηδ' εἰς ταῦτά τις πλεονεκτήματα αὐτῶν ὁρῶν ἀθυμότερος πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔστω, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμείσθω πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἔλαττον στράτευμα ἐπιστάμενον ἃ δεῖ πράττειν ἢ πολὺ ἀμαθές· ἔπειθ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγωνιζομένοις ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ θάρσος τέ τι πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους παρίστησι καὶ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιῶδες ὥσπερ τοῖς θεοφορήτοις παρέχει, τοῖς δ' ἁρπάσαι τὰ ἀλλότρια προθυμουμένοις μαλακώτεραι πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ αἱ[7] τόλμαι
4 φιλοῦσι γίνεσθαι. (15) ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' οἷς δεδίττονται[8] τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐκδειματοῦσιν ὀρρωδητέα ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἀπείροις πολέμου. τί γὰρ ἂν[9] δυνήσονται δεινὸν ἐργάσασθαι[10] τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας αἱ βαθεῖαι

[1] *ὑσσός* Naber : *ὀιστός* Q.
[2] *διὰ πάσης* Jacoby : *δι' ἁπάσης* Q.
[3] *μάχαιραι* Q : *μαγειρικαί* Struve, om. Kiessling.

mighty shields, with which we keep our entire bodies protected, two-edged swords, and, instead of the spear, the javelin, a missile that cannot be dodged—some of them being protective armour, such as not to yield readily to blows, and others offensive, of a sort to pierce through any defence. But our foes have their heads bare, bare their breasts and flanks, bare their thighs and legs down to their feet, and have no other defence except shields ; as weapons of offence they have spears and very long slashing blades. (14) The terrain also in which we shall fight will aid us as we move downhill from higher ground, but will be adverse to them as they are forced to advance from the level to higher ground. And let no one of you stand in dread either of the enemies' numbers or of their size, or, from looking at these advantages on their side, become less confident of the contest. On the contrary, let everyone bear in mind, first, that a smaller army which understands what must be done is superior to a large army that is uninstructed ; and, second, that to those who are fighting for their own possessions Nature herself lends a certain courage in the face of danger and gives them a spirit of ecstasy like that of men possessed by a god, whereas those who are eager to seize the goods of others are apt to find their boldness weakened in the face of dangers. (15) Nay, not even their attempts to frighten their foes and terrify them before coming to blows should cause us any dread, as if we were inexperienced in warfare. For what harm can be done to men going

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[4] *ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου* Tegge. [5] Struve : *φοβείτω* Q.
[6] *μηδεὶς* Mai : *μηδὲ* Q. [7] *αἱ* added by Struve.
[8] *δίττονται* Q. [9] *ἂν* om. Kiessling, following Struve.
[10] Kiessling : *ἐργάσεσθαι* Q.

κόμαι καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν αὐτῶν πικρὸν καὶ ὁ βλοσυρὸς τῆς ὄψεως χαρακτήρ; αἵ τε[1] δὴ πλημμελεῖς αὗται σκιρτήσεις καὶ τὰ διὰ κενῆς ἀνασείσματα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θυρεῶν κτύποι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑπὸ βαρβάρου καὶ ἄφρονος ἀλαζονείας κατά τε μορφὰς[2] καὶ φωνὰς ἐν ἀπειλαῖς πολεμίων σπαθᾶται, τίνα παρέχειν πέφυκε τοῖς ἀνοήτως ἐπιοῦσι πλεονεξίαν ἢ τοῖς μετὰ λογισμοῦ παρὰ[3] τὰ δεινὰ ἑστῶσι φόβον; (16) ταῦτα δὴ διανοηθέντες, ὅσοι τε ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κελτῶν προτέρῳ πολέμῳ παρεγένεσθε καὶ ὅσοι διὰ νεότητα ἀπελείφθητε αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἵνα τὴν[4] τότε ἀρετὴν μὴ καταισχύνητε τῇ νῦν δειλίᾳ, οἱ δ' ἵνα μηδὲν ἐνδεέστεροι γένησθε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐν ἐπιδείξει καλῶν ἔργων, ἴτε, ὦ γενναῖοι παῖδες ἀγαθῶν ζηλωταὶ πατέρων, ἴτε ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐπ' αὐτούς, θεούς τε ἀρωγοὺς ἔχοντες, οἳ παρέξουσιν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν οἵας ἐβούλεσθε παρὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀναπράξασθαι δίκας, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐμέ, ᾧ πολλὴν μὲν εὐβουλίαν μαρτυρεῖτε, πολλὴν δ' εὐποτμίαν· μακάριον μὲν ἕξοντες τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦδε χρόνον οἷς ἂν ἐγγένηται τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῇ πατρίδι στέφανον καταγαγεῖν, καλὴν δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατον εὔκλειαν καταλείψοντες ἀντὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ σώματος νηπίοις παισὶ καὶ γηραιοῖς γονεῦσιν οἱ τοιαύτην[5] ἐκπληρώσοντες τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν. οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν· κινεῖται γὰρ ἤδη τὸ βάρβαρον στράτευμα χωροῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ἀλλ' ἄπιτε καὶ καθίστασθε εἰς τάξιν." *Ambr.*

[1] τε Kiessling : δὲ Q. [2] μορφῆς Q.
[3] παρὰ Q : πρὸς Struve. [4] τὴν added by Struve.
[5] Capps : ταύτην Q : ταύτῃ ἂν ἐκπληρώσαντες Struve.

into battle by those long locks, the fierceness of their glance, and the grim aspect of their countenances ? And these awkward prancings, the useless brandishing of their weapons, the many clashings of their shields, and all the other demonstrations of barbarian and senseless bravado, whether through motions or through sounds, indulged in by way of threats to their foes—what advantage are they calculated to bring to those who attack unintelligently, or what fear to those who with cool calculation stand their ground in the midst of danger ? (16) Do you, then, with these thoughts in mind, both those of you who were present in the earlier war against the Gauls and those of you who had no part in it by reason of your youth, the former in order that you may not, by cowardice now, bring shame upon the valour you then displayed, and you others in order that you may not be behind your elders in the display of noble deeds, go, noble sons, emulators of brave fathers, go intrepidly against the foe, having not only the gods as your helpers, who will give you the power to exact from your bitterest foes such vengeance as you have been wishing for, but also me as your general, to whose great prudence and great good fortune you bear witness. A blissful life from this time forth those of you will lead to whom it shall be granted to bring home for your fatherland its most distinguished crown, and a splendid and imperishable renown in place of your mortal bodies those of you will bequeath to your infant children and your aged parents who shall fulfil thus the end of your lives. I know of nothing more that needs to be said ; for the barbarian army is already in motion, advancing against us. But be off and take your places in the ranks."

X. (17) Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν βαρβάρων μάχη πολὺ τὸ θηριῶδες καὶ μανικὸν ἔχουσα πλημμελής τις ἦν καὶ σοφίας τῆς[1] ἐν ὅπλοις ἄμοιρος. τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἀνατείνοντες ἄνω τὰς μαχαίρας ὑῶν ἀγρίων[2] τρόπον ἔπαιον ὅλοις συνεμπίπτοντες τοῖς ἑαυτῶν σώμασιν, ὥσπερ ὑλοτόμοι τινὲς ἢ σκαπανεῖς, τοτὲ δ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἀστοχάστους πληγὰς ἐξέφερον, ὡς αὐτοῖς σκεπαστηρίοις ὅλα διακόψοντες τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀντιπολέμων· ἔπειτα τὰς ἀκμὰς τῶν
2 σιδήρων ἀπέστρεφον. (18) ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀλκὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον αὐτῶν ἀντιτέχνησις ἔμπεδός[3] τε ἦν καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχουσα. ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀναιρομένων[4] τὰς μαχαίρας ὑποδύνοντες ὑπὸ τοὺς βραχίονας καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς εἰς ὕψος ἀνατείνοντες, ἔπειτα γυροὶ καὶ βραχεῖς γινόμενοι, τὰς μὲν ἐκείνων πληγὰς ὑπερπετεῖς γινομένας ἀπράκτους καὶ κενὰς ἐποίουν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὀρθὰ τὰ ξίφη φέροντες βουβῶνάς τε αὐτῶν ἔπαιον καὶ λαγόνας διῄρουν καὶ διὰ στέρνων ἐπὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα τὰς πληγὰς ἐξέτεινον· ὅσους δὲ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντας αἴσθοιντο, γονάτων ἢ σφυρῶν νεῦρα διακείροντες ἐξέχεον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν βεβρυχότας καὶ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὀδακτίζοντας καὶ βοὴν[5] ὠρυγῇ παραπλησίαν ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία προϊεμένους.
3 (19) ἥ τε δύναμις ὑπέλειπε πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκλυομένων τῶν μελῶν ὑπὸ κόπων καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τὰ μὲν ἀπεστόμωτο, τὰ δὲ συνετέθραυστο,[6] τὰ δ' οὐκέτι προσωφελεῖν δυνατὰ ἦν· χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ

[1] Mai : *τοῖς* Q.
[2] *ὑῶν ἀγρίων* Post : *τὸν ἄγριον* Q, Jacoby.
[3] Post : *εὔπαιδος* Q, *εὐπαίδευτός* Mai.
[4] Kiessling : *διαιρουμένων* Q, *διαιρομένων* Struve.
[5] Mai : *βοῆ* Q.
[6] *συντέθραυτο* Q.

X. (17) Now the barbarians' manner of fighting, being in large measure that of wild beasts and frenzied, was an erratic procedure, quite lacking in military science. Thus, at one moment they would raise their swords aloft and smite after the manner of wild boars,[1] throwing the whole weight of their bodies into the blow like hewers of wood or men digging with mattocks, and again they would deliver crosswise blows aimed at no target, as if they intended to cut to pieces the entire bodies of their adversaries, protective armour and all ; then they would turn the edges of their swords away from the foe. (18) On the other hand, the Romans' defence and counter-manœuvring against the barbarians was steadfast [2] and afforded great safety. For while their foes were still raising their swords aloft, they would duck under their arms, holding up their shields, and then, stooping and crouching low, they would render vain and useless the blows of the others, which were aimed too high, while for their own part, holding their swords straight out, they would strike their opponents in the groin, pierce their sides, and drive their blows through their breasts into their vitals. And if they saw any of them keeping these parts of their bodies protected, they would cut the tendons of their knees or ankles and topple them to the ground roaring and biting their shields and uttering cries resembling the howling of wild beasts. (19) Not only did their strength desert many of the barbarians as their limbs failed them through weariness, but their weapons also were either blunted or broken or no longer serviceable.

[1] The translation follows the text as emended by Post. The MS. has " in the savage manner."

[2] Or " well practised," following Mai's conjecture.

καταρρέοντος ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων αἵματος οἱ δι' ὅλων ἐκχεόμενοι τῶν σωμάτων ἱδρῶτες οὔτε τὰς μαχαίρας εἴων κρατεῖν οὔτε τοὺς θυρεοὺς κατέχειν, περιολισθανόντων[1] ταῖς λαβαῖς τῶν δακτύλων καὶ τὰς ἀφὰς οὐκέτι κραταιὰς ἐχόντων. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθάδες ὄντες πόνων διὰ τὰς ἀτρύτους καὶ συνεχεῖς στρατείας ἅπαντα τὰ δεινὰ γενναίως διέφερον.[2] *Ambr.*

XI. (20) Ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα θεόπεμπτα γέγονε, μέγιστον δ' ἁπάντων τόδε· τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τὸ μέσον μάλιστα διαρραγῆναί[3] τι τῆς γῆς εἰς βάθος ἄβυσσον καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας διαμένειν.[4] ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Σιβυλλείων χρησμῶν ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὰ βιβλία εἶπον ὅτι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῷ[5] Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ λαβοῦσα ἡ γῆ συνελεύσεταί τε καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἁπάντων ἀγαθῶν
2 ἀνήσει. τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποφηναμένων ἀπαρχὰς ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ χάσμα ἔφερεν ὧν ᾤετο δεῖν ἀγαθῶν[6] τῇ πατρίδι, ἀπό τε καρπῶν πελάνους
3 καὶ ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἀπαρχάς. (21) Μάρκος δέ τις Κούρτιος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν νέων ἀριθμούμενος σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς κατὰ πολέμους ἀρετῆς ἔφοδον αἰτησάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν εἶπεν ὅτι τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν χρῆμα κάλλιστον καὶ πόλει Ῥωμαίων ἀναγκαιότατον ἀνδρῶν ἀρετή· εἰ δὴ καὶ ταύτης ἀπαρχήν τινα ἡ γῆ λάβοι καὶ γένοιτο ἑκὼν ὁ τοῦτο χαριούμενος τῇ πατρίδι,
4 πολλοὺς ἀνήσει ἡ γῆ ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν

[1] Cobet : περιολισθαινόντων Q.
[2] Naber : ἀνέφερον Q.
[3] διερράγη Kiessling.
[4] διέμεινεν Kiessling, διαμεῖναι Jacoby.

For besides the blood that flowed from their wounds, the sweat pouring out over their whole bodies would not let them either grasp their swords or hold their shields firmly, since their fingers slipped on the handles and no longer kept a firm hold. The Romans, however, being accustomed to many toils by reason of their unabating and continuous warfare, continued to meet every peril in noble fashion.

XI. (20) In Rome there were many other heaven-sent portents,[1] but the greatest of all was this : Near the middle of the Forum, they say, a cleft in the earth appeared of fathomless depth and it remained for many days. Pursuant to a decree of the senate, the men in charge of the Sibylline oracles consulted the books and reported that when the earth had received the things of greatest value to the Roman people it would not only close up, but would also send up a great abundance of all blessings for the future. When the men had made this announcement, every-one brought to the chasm the first-fruits of all the good things he thought the fatherland needed, not only cakes made of grain, but also the first-fruits of his money. (21) Then a certain Marcus Curtius, who was accounted among the first of the youths because of his prudence and his prowess in war, sought admission to the senate and declared that of all blessings the finest thing and the one most essential to the Roman state was the valour of its men ; if, therefore, the earth should receive some first-fruits of this and the one who offered it to the fatherland should do so voluntarily, the earth would send up many good men. Having said this and promised

[1] *Cf.* Livy vii. 6, 1-6.

[5] τῷ Struve : τῶν Q. [6] ἀγαθῶν Struve : αὐτῶν Q.

καὶ μηδενὶ παραχωρήσειν ἑτέρῳ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ταύτης ὑποσχόμενος τά τε ὅπλα περιέθετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πολεμιστὴν ἵππον ἀνέβη· συναχθέντος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου πρῶτον μὲν ηὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελῆ ποιῆσαι τὰ μαντεύματα καὶ πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοίους αὐτῷ δοῦναι τῇ πόλει τῇ Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι· ἔπειτ' ἐφεὶς τῷ ἵππῳ τὰς ἡνίας καὶ τὰ κέντρα προσβαλὼν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ χάσματος ἑαυτόν. ἐπὶ δὲ[1] αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα, πολλοὶ δὲ καρποί, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα, πολὺς δὲ κόσμος ἐσθῆτος, πολλαὶ δὲ ἀπαρχαὶ συμπασῶν τεχνῶν δημοσίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ χάσματος ἐρρίφησαν· καὶ αὐτίκα ἡ γῆ συνῆλθεν. *Ambr.*

XII. (22) Ὑπερφυές τι χρῆμα σώματος ἦν ὁ Κελτός, οἷος ὑπεραίρειν πολὺ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν. *Ambr.*

Λικίνιος Στόλων, ὁ δεκάκις δημαρχήσας καὶ τοὺς νόμους εἰσηγησάμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δεκαετὴς στάσις ἐγένετο, ἁλοὺς ἐν δίκῃ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καταψηφισθεὶς τίμημα ἀργυρικόν, εἶπεν ὅτι θηρίον οὐδέν ἐστι δήμου μιαρώτερον, ὃς οὐδὲ τῶν σιτιζόντων ἀπέχεται. *Ambr.*

XIII. (23) Τοῦ ὑπάτου Μαρκίου Πριβερνάτας[2] πολιορκοῦντος, ἐπεὶ οὐδεμία τούτοις σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ὑπελείπετο,[3] ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "Φράσατέ μοι, πῶς αὐτοὶ κολάζετε τοὺς ἀφισταμένους ὑμῶν οἰκέτας;" ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβευτής,[4] "Ὡς δεῖ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ποθοῦντας ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἔμφυτον ἐλευθερίαν." καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν παρρησίαν

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ Q. [2] Mai : τιβερνάτας Q.
[3] Cobet : ὑπολείπεται Q. [4] Struve : πρεσβύτατος Q.

that he would not yield this distinction to anyone else, he girded on his arms and mounted his war-horse. And when the multitude in the city had gathered to witness the spectacle, he first prayed to the gods to fulfil the oracles and grant that many men like himself should be born to the Roman state ; then, giving the horse free rein and applying the spurs, he hurled himself down the chasm. And after him were thrown down the chasm many victims, many fruits, much money, much fine apparel, and many first-fruits of all the different crafts, all at the public expense. And straightway the earth closed up.

XII. (22) The Gaul was a tremendous creature in bulk, far exceeding the common build.[1]

Licinius Stolo,[2] the man who had held the tribuneship ten times and had introduced the laws over which the ten-years' sedition occurred, when he was found guilty at his trial and condemned by the populace to pay a monetary fine, declared that there is no wild beast more bloodthirsty than the populace, which does not spare even those who feed it.

XIII. (23) When the consul Marcius was besieging Privernum [3] and no hope of saving themselves was left to the inhabitants, they sent envoys to him. To his query, " Tell me, how do you yourselves punish your household slaves who run away from you ? " the envoy answered : " As those must be punished who long to recover their native freedom." Marcius, accepting his frankness of speech, asked : " If, then,

[1] *Cf.* Livy vii. 10, 7 ; 26, 1.
[2] *Cf.* Livy vii. 16, 9. [3] *Cf.* Livy viii. 21.

φησίν· " 'Εὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ πεισθῶμεν ὑμῖν ἀφεῖναι τὰς ὀργάς, τίνα δώσετε πίστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι ποιήσειν ἐχθρῶν ἔργον;" ἀποκρίνεται πάλιν ὁ πρεσβευτής· " 'Επὶ σοὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις 'Ρωμαίοις, Μάρκιε· κομισάμενοι μὲν γὰρ ἅμα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν βέβαιοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῖν ἐσόμεθα φίλοι, δουλεύειν δ'[1] ἀναγκασθέντες οὐδέποτε." ἠγάσθη τε δὴ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Μάρκιος καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔλυσε. *Ambr.*

[1] δ' added by Struve.

we listen to you and give up our anger, what assurance will you give us that you will not again commit any hostile act ? " The envoy answered again : " That rests with you and the other Romans, Marcius. For if we get back our liberty along with our country, we shall be your staunch friends always ; but if we are compelled to be slaves, never." Marcius admired the lofty spirit of the men and raised the siege.

EXCERPTS
FROM
BOOK XV

I. (1) Τῶν Κελτῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ καί τινος βασιλέως εἰς μονομαχίαν προκαλουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅστις εἴη ἀνήρ, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος, εἷς τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἀπόγονος ὢν Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικόλα τοῦ συνελευθερώσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τὴν πόλιν, ἐξῄει τῷ Κελτῷ διαγωνίσασθαι. 2 ὡς δὲ συνῆεσαν ὁμόσε, κόραξ καθεζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ κράνους αὐτοῦ ἐκεκράγει[1] τε δεινὸν εἰς τὸν βάρβαρον ὁρῶν καί, ὁπότε μέλλοι πληγὴν ἐκφέρειν,[2] πηδῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἤμυττε τὰς παρειάς, τοτὲ δὲ τῷ ῥύγχει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔκοπτεν, ὥστε τὸν Κελτὸν ἔξω γενέσθαι[3] τῶν φρενῶν, οὔθ' ὅπως τὸν ἄνδρα ἀμύνοιτο δυνάμενον συμβαλεῖν οὔθ' ὅπως τὸν κόρακα φυλάττοιτο. 3 (2) ὡς δὲ πολὺς ἐγεγόνει τῇ μάχῃ χρόνος, ὁ μὲν Κελτὸς φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐαλέριον τὴν μάχαιραν ὡς διὰ τῆς προβολῆς[4] εἰς τὰ πλευρὰ βάψων,[5] ἔπειτ' ἐπιπτάντος αὐτῷ τοῦ κόρακος καὶ τὰς ὄψεις ὀρύττοντος ἀνέτεινε τὸν θυρεὸν ὡς ἀπελάσων τὸν

[1] Struve : *ἐκέκραγε* Q. [2] Mai : *ἐκφέρει* Q.
[3] *γίνεσθαι* Q. [4] Kiessling : *προσβολῆς* Q.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XV

I. (1) When the Gauls made an expedition against Rome [1] and one of their chieftains challenged to single combat any one of the Romans who was a man, Marcus Valerius, one of the tribunes and a descendant of Valerius Publicola, the man who had helped free the city from the kings, went out to fight with the Gaul. When they engaged, a raven perched on Valerius' helmet and cawed while looking fiercely at the barbarian, and every time the latter made ready to deliver a blow he would fly at him, now tearing his cheeks with his claws and now pecking at his eyes with his beak, so that the Gaul was driven out of his senses, being unable to contrive how he could either ward off his foe or defend himself against the raven. (2) When the combat had continued for a long time, the Gaul aimed his sword at Valerius, as if intending to plunge it through his shield into his side ; then, when the raven flew at him and clawed his eyes, he held up his shield as if to drive the bird away ; but

[1] *Cf.* Livy vii. 26, 1-5, 12.

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[5] Smit : *βάψας* Q.

ὄρνιν· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ἔτι μετεωρίζοντος τὸ ὅπλον ἀκολουθήσας κάτωθεν ὑποφέρει τὸ ξίφος καὶ
4 ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Κελτόν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς Κάμιλλος χρυσέῳ τοὐτον στεφάνῳ ἐκόσμησεν ἐπωνυμίαν θέμενος αὐτῷ[1] Κορβῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ συναγωνισαμένου κατὰ τὴν μονομαχίαν ζῴου· κόρβους γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τοὺς κόρακας· αὐτός τε διετέλεσεν ἐξ ἐκείνου συμβόλῳ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους κοσμούμενος κόρακι, καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ πάσαις οἱ πλάττοντες καὶ γράφοντες τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφήρμοττον. *Ambr.*

II. (3) Ἐπόρθουν τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν κτήσεις πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας γεμούσας.

Ἀνθρώπους πεπονημένους ὑπὸ πολέμου σώματα καὶ πλὴν ὅσον ἀνέπνεον τὰ λοιπὰ νεκροῖς[2] ὁμοίους.

Ἔτι θερμῆς τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον οὔσης τῆς τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος σποδοῦ.

2 Τὸν οἰκτιστον ἀπολεῖται τρόπον ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ πολιτικῷ σιτίζοντος αἵματι τὸν φθόνον.

Μοῖραν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην τῶν ὠφελειῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις χαριζόμενος, ὥστ' ἐπικλύσαι πλούτῳ τὴν ἑκάστου πενίαν.

Διέφθειραν αὐτῶν ἀκμαζούσας ἤδη σπορολογεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς καρποφόρου ἐλωβήσαντο. *Ambr.*

III. Ὅτι Κοΐντου Σερουιλίου τὸ τρίτον[3] καὶ Γαΐου Μαρκίου Ῥοτίλου[4] ὑπατευόντων κίνδυνοι τὴν Ῥώμην χαλεποὶ καὶ ἀπροσδόκητοι κατέσχον, οὓς εἰ μὴ θεία τις πρόνοια διεσκέδασε, δυεῖν κακῶν θάτερον ἂν αὐτῇ συνέπεσεν, ἢ δόξαν αἰσχί-

[1] Hertlein : αὐτὸν Q. [2] Struve : νεκροὺς Q.
[3] ὑπατεύοντος after τρίτον deleted by Müller.

the Roman, following him up while he was still holding his shield aloft, drove his sword home from underneath and slew the Gaul. The general, Camillus, honoured him with a golden crown and gave him the cognomen Corvinus [1] because of the bird which had fought in the single combat with him ; for the Romans call ravens *corvi*. And not only did Valerius himself continue from that time on to have his helmet decorated with a raven as his emblem, but in all his likenesses as well both sculptors and painters placed this bird on his head.

II. (3) They ravaged their farms in the country that teemed with great wealth.

People exhausted in body by war and like corpses except that they breathed.

While the slain man's ashes were still warm, as the saying goes.

He will perish in the most miserable fashion at the hands of an enemy who feeds his hatred on the blood of his fellow citizens.

Granting no small part of the booty to his troops, so that each man's poverty was deluged with wealth.

They laid waste their fields which were now ripe for the harvest and ravaged the best of the fruitful land.

III. When Quintus Servilius (for the third time) and Gaius Marcius Rutilus were consuls,[2] Rome was involved in grave and unexpected dangers, from which, had they not been dispelled by some divine providence, one of two evils would have befallen her—either to have got a shameful name for murdering her

[1] Livy gives the cognomen as Corvus, later changed to Corvinus (vii. 40, 3).

[2] For chaps. 3 f. *cf.* Livy vii. 38–42.

[4] Ῥοτίλου Cary, Ῥουτίλου Müller : ῥοτύλλου S.

στην ἐνεγκεῖν[1] ξενοκτονίας ἢ φόνων ἄψασθαι πολιτικῶν. ἀφ' ἧς δ' αἰτίας εἰς τούτους ἦλθε τοὺς κινδύνους, μικρὰ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀναλαβὼν δι' ὀλίγων πειράσομαι διελθεῖν.

2 Ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ τὸν Σαυνιτικὸν πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ἁπάσης Καμπανίας ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀραμένη καὶ τρισὶ νικήσασα μάχαις τοὺς ἀντιταχθέντας ἐβούλετο μὲν ἁπάσας ἀπάγειν[2] τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς οὐθενὸς ἔτι κινδύνου ταῖς πόλεσι καταλειπομένου· δεομένων δὲ τῶν Καμπανῶν μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς συμμάχων ἐρήμους, ὡς ἐπιθησομένων σφίσι τῶν Σαυνιτῶν εἰ μηδεμίαν ἔχοιεν ξενικὴν βοήθειαν, ἔγνω τὸν ἀπαλλάξαντα τοῦ πολέμου τὰς πόλεις ὕπατον Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον ὅσην ἂν αὐτοὶ βουληθῶσι τρέφειν στρατιὰν ἐν ταῖς
3 πόλεσι καταλιπεῖν. γενόμενος[3] δὲ τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης κύριος ὁ ὕπατος, ὅσοις ἦν βουλομένοις ὀψώνια καὶ μισθοὺς φέρεσθαι τῆς φυλακῆς, τούτους καθίστησιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν· ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ πλεῖον μέρος ἀνεστίων καὶ καταχρέων καὶ τὴν οἴκοι πενίαν καὶ ἀγνωσίαν ἀσμένως ἀποδιδρασκόν-
4 των. τούτους οἱ Καμπανοὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀναλαμβάνοντες τραπέζαις τε ὑπεδέχοντο λαμπραῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐξένιζον φιλοφροσύναις. πολυτελὴς δὲ καὶ ἁβροδίαιτος ἱκανῶς τοῖς Καμπανίαν οἰκοῦσι καὶ νῦν ἐστι καὶ τότε ἦν ὁ βίος καὶ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἔσται χρόνον, πολύκαρπόν τε πεδιάδα καὶ πολύβοτον καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἀνθρώποις γεωργοῦσιν ἀρίστην οὖσαν.

5 Κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀγαπητῶς οἱ φρουροὶ τὴν φιλοξενίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλάμβανον· ἔπειτα διαφθειρόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ κόρου τῶν ἀγαθῶν

hosts or to have stained her hands with civil bloodshed. How she incurred these dangers I shall attempt to recount succinctly after first recalling a few of the events which preceded.

In the previous year Rome, after undertaking the Samnite war in behalf of all Campania and conquering her opponents in three battles, had wished to bring all her forces home, feeling that no further danger remained for the cities there. But when the Campanians besought the Romans not to desert them and leave them bereft of allies, declaring that the Samnites would attack them if they had no assistance from outside, it was decreed that the consul Marcus Valerius, who had freed their cities from war, should leave as large an army in those cities as they wished to support. Having been given this authority, the consul placed in the cities all who wished to draw rations and be paid for garrison duty ; the greater part of these consisted of homeless men burdened with debt, who were glad to escape poverty and the obscure life at home. The Campanians, taking these men into their homes, welcomed them with lavish tables and entertained them with all the other marks of hospitality. For the manner of life of the Campanians is extravagant and luxurious enough now, and was then, and will be for all time to come, since they dwell in a plain that is rich in both crops and flocks and is most salubrious for men who till the soil.

At first, accordingly, the garrison gladly accepted the hospitality of these people ; then, as their souls grew corrupted by the surfeit of good things, they

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[1] Jacoby : *ἐνέγκαι* S.
[2] Feder : *ἄγειν* S.
[3] Feder : *γενομένης* S.

πονηροὺς ὑπολογισμοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐλάμβανον, καὶ συνιόντες ἀλλήλοις ἔλεγον ὡς ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων ποιήσουσιν ἔργον εἰ τοσαύτην καταλιπόντες εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βίον ἀνακάμψουσιν, ἔνθα λυπρὰ μὲν ἡ γῆ, πολλαὶ δὲ εἰσφοραί, πολέμων δὲ καὶ κακῶν ἀνάπαυσις οὐδεμία, τὰ δὲ
6 τῶν κοινῶν πόνων ἆθλα παρ' ὀλίγοις.[1] οἱ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς τοῖς βίοις καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίων ἀποροῦντες, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ τὰ χρέα μὴ δυνάμενοι διαλῦσαι τοῖς συμβαλοῦσι καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀποχρῶσαν εἶναι σύμβουλον τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσιν ἀποφαίνοντες ἄνευ τοῦ καλοῦ, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες νόμοι τε καὶ ἄρχοντες τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωρίας ἀπειλοῖεν αὐτοῖς, Καμπανοῖς[2] ἔτι μεθήσεσθαι τῆς παρούσης εὐδαιμονίας ἔλεγον, καὶ τελευτῶντες εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἦλθον ὥστε
7 καὶ λέγειν ἐτόλμων· " Τί δὴ[3] καὶ δράσομεν δεινὸν ἐὰν Καμπανοὺς ἐκβαλόντες τὰς ἐκείνων πόλεις κατάσχωμεν; οὗτοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ πρότερον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου[4] κτησάμενοι τὴν γῆν κατέσχον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιξενωθέντες Τυρρηνοῖς[5] τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἅπαντας διαφθείραντες τάς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν περιμάχητον χώραν παρέλαβον, ὥστε σὺν δίκῃ πείσονται πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν πάθωσιν αὐτοὶ τῆς
8 παρανομίας ἄρξαντες καθ' ἑτέρων. τί δὴ[6] καὶ τὸ κωλῦσον' ἡμᾶς ἔσται ταῦτα μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς

[1] Kiessling was the first editor to point with a period, instead of a comma, after ὀλίγοις.
[2] ἐν before Καμπανοῖς deleted by Kiessling.
[3] Kiessling : δαὶ S.

gradually gave way to base considerations, and remarked when meeting that they would be playing the part of witless men if they left such great good fortune behind and returned to their life at Rome, where the land was wretched and there were numerous war taxes, where there was no respite from wars and evils, and the rewards for the hardships suffered by all in common were at the disposition of a few. Those who had but an insecure livelihood and lacked daily subsistence, and even more those who were unable to discharge their debts to their creditors and declared that their necessity was a sufficient counsellor to advise them of their interests regardless of the honourable course, said that even if all the laws and magistrates should threaten them with the direst penalties, they would no longer relinquish to the Campanians their present good fortune ; and finally they came to such a state of madness that they dared to talk in this fashion : " What terrible crime, indeed, shall we be committing if we expel the Campanians and occupy their cities ? For these men themselves did not acquire the land in a just manner when they occupied it aforetime, but after enjoying the hospitality of the Tyrrhenians who inhabited it, they slew all the men and took over their wives, their homes, their cities, and their land that was so well worth fighting for ; so that with justice they will suffer whatever they may suffer, having themselves begun the lawless treatment of others. What, then, will there be to prevent our enjoying these blessings for all time to

[4] δικαίου Jacoby : πεδίου S, παλαιοῦ Feder, ἰδίου Müller, βελτίστου Kiessling.
[5] τυρανοῖς S.
[6] Kiessling : δαὶ S.
[7] κωλῦσαν S.

χρόνου καρποῦσθαι τἀγαθά; Σαυνῖται μέν γε καὶ Σιδικῖνοι[1] καὶ Αὔσονες[2] καὶ πάντες οἱ περίοικοι τοσούτου[3] δεήσουσι Καμπανοῖς τιμωροῦντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς γε[4] στρατεύειν ὥστε ἀποχρῆν ὑπολήψονταί σφισιν εἰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐάσομεν[5] ἑκάστους[6] ἔχειν.

9 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἴσως μὲν καὶ κατ' εὐχὴν δέξονται τὸ πραχθέν, ἅπασαν ἀξιοῦντες Ἰταλίαν ταῖς αὑτῶν ἀποικίαις κρατεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖν προσποιούμενοι,[7] πολεμίους ἡμᾶς κρίναντες,[8] οὐ τοσαῦτα δεινὰ διαθήσουσιν ὅσα πείσονται πρὸς ἡμῶν. χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτῶν δηώσομεν, ὅσον ἂν ἡμῖν δοκῇ, καὶ δεσμώτας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λύσομεν καὶ θεράποντας ἐλευθερώσομεν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων αὐτοῖς Οὐολούσκων τε καὶ Τυρρηνῶν καὶ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀκροωμένων Λατίνων στησόμεθα. ἠναγκασμένοις δ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸν ἔσχατον περὶ ψυχῆς τρέχουσι δρόμον οὔτ' ἄπορον οὐθὲν οὔτ' ἀντίπαλον."

10 Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀλίγοι μὲν τὰ πρῶτα, ἔπειτα πλείους, ἔγνωσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ δι' ὅρκων ἐδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις τὸ πιστόν. ἔφθασε δὲ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν εἰς τοὐμφανὲς[9] ἀγαγοῦσα μήνυσις ἣν τῶν συνομοσάντων τινὲς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Μάρκιον, ᾧ τὸν κατὰ Σαυνιτῶν πόλεμον ὁ κλῆρος ἀπένειμεν, ἤδη παρειληφότα[10] τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καταγραφείσας δυνάμεις καὶ ὄντα ἐν ὁδῷ.

[1] Feder : σιτικηνοὶ S. [2] Edd. : αὔσωνες S.
[3] Jacoby : τοσοῦτον S.
[4] Kiessling : τε S, om. Müller.
[5] Feder : ἐάσωμεν S.
[6] Kiessling : ἑκάστοις S.
[7] προσποιοῦνται Kiessling.

come ? At any rate, the Samnites, the Sidicini, the Ausonians and all the neighbouring peoples, far from marching against us to avenge the Campanians, will believe that it is enough for them if we allow each of them to retain their own possessions. And the Romans perhaps will accept our action as truly an answer to prayer, ambitious as they are to rule all Italy by their own colonies ; but if they pretend to be aggrieved and adjudge us enemies, they will not do us as much harm as they will suffer harm at our hands. For we will ravage their territory as much as we please, turn loose the prisoners on the country estates, free the slaves, and take our stand with their bitterest enemies, the Volscians, Tyrrhenians and Samnites, as well as with the Latins who are still wavering in their loyalty. To men driven by stern necessity and running the supreme race for their lives nothing is either impossible or able to withstand them."

As they argued in this manner with one another, at first a few, and then a larger number decided to attack the cities, and they pledged their good faith to one another by means of oaths. But their attempt was forestalled, being brought to light by information which some of the conspirators laid before Marcius, one of the consuls, who had been designated by lot to conduct the war against the Samnites, and having already taken over the forces that had been enrolled in Rome, was on his way. The consul, upon

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[8] *κρίνουσιν* Müller, unless a verb has been lost after *κρίναντες*.

[9] *τοὐμφανὲς* Kiessling : *ἐμφανὲς* S.

[10] *παρειληφότα* Feder in note, but *παρειληφότι* in text : *παρείληφεν ὅτι* S.

ὁ δὲ ὕπατος ἀπροσδοκήτου καὶ δεινοῦ πράγματος ἀκούσας ἔκρινε μήτ' ἐξειπεῖν[1] τὸ πρᾶγμα μήτ'[2] εἰδέναι δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀπάτης τινὸς καὶ στρατηγίας κωλῦσαι τὰ συμβησόμενα ταῖς πόλεσιν.
11 ἀποστείλας δή τινας ἅμα τοῖς μηνυταῖς κατασκευαστοὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις πρὶν αὐτὸς[3] ἐλθεῖν, παρεσκεύασε[4] λέγεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς παραχειμασίαις ὅτι τὰς μὲν φρουρὰς ἔγνω καταλιπεῖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὰς τότε οὔσας, ἐπειδὴ[5] βουλομένοις ἐστὶ τοῖς Καμπανοῖς αὐτὰς μένειν, τῇ δὲ οἴκοθεν ἀφιγμένῃ σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμει πολεμεῖν πρὸς Σαυνίτας παρασκευάζεται· καὶ ἔπεισεν[6] ἅπαντας ταῦτα
12 ὑπολαβεῖν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν Καμπανίαν μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἁπάσης εἰς ἑκάστην παρῄει πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς φρουραῖς ἀνακαλούμενος διέκρινεν ἁπάντων τοὺς μετασχόντας τῆς συνωμοσίας. ἔπειτα φιλανθρώπως ἑκάστοις διαλεγόμενος οὓς μὲν ἀπέλυσε τῶν σημείων, ὡς ἂν χαριζόμενος τὴν ἄφεσιν τῆς στρατείας, οὓς δὲ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ καὶ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ παραδοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ χρείας δή τινας στρατιωτικὰς ἀπέλυσεν (οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ πονηρότατοι καὶ οὐχ ὑπομένοντες ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς στρατείας) ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἄγουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ῥώμην διακομίσαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν ἀδήλοις φυλακαῖς, χωρίσαντας ἄλλους ἀπ' ἄλλων, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἀφίκηται.

[1] μήτ' ἐξειπεῖν . . . μήτ' (or μηδ' . . . μηδ') Cary, μηδ' ἐξενεγκεῖν . . . μηδ' Post : μὴ λέξειν . . . μήτ' S ; μὴ λέξαι Feder, μὴ ἐλέγξαι Cobet, μὴ δείξειν Jacoby.
[2] μήτ' S : μηδ' Kiessling, Jacoby.

hearing of this unexpected and dangerous matter, decided neither [1] to mention it nor to appear to be aware of it, but by some deception and ruse to prevent the fulfilment of the threat to the cities. Accordingly, he sent into the cities some men duly instructed for the purpose along with the informers, ahead of his own arrival, and caused the report to be spread among the men in winter quarters that he had decided to leave the present garrisons in the cities, inasmuch as the Campanians desired to have them remain, while he himself was preparing to make war against the Samnites with the forces which had come with him from Rome ; and he persuaded them all to believe this. But upon arriving in Campania with his whole army, he went round to each city, and summoning the men in the garrisons, picked out from among them all those who had taken part in the conspiracy. Then, addressing each group in friendly fashion, he dismissed some from the standards, as if granting discharge from the service as a favour, and others he dismissed, handing them over to the legate and the tribune as if for some special military duties. These latter were the most evil-minded and would not consent to be discharged from the service ; and he gave orders to those who were escorting them to take them to Rome, and separating the groups from one another, to keep them in secret custody until he himself should come.

[1] Or, reading *μηδ' . . . μηδ'*, " not even to mention it nor indeed to appear," etc.

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[3] Feder : *αὐτοὺς* S, *αὐτὸν* Müller.

[4] *παρεσκεύασε* Cary, *προπαρεσκεύασε* Kiessling : *προσεσκεύασε* S, *προσκατεσκεύασε* Post.

[5] Feder : *ἐπεὶ δὲ* S. [6] *ἔπεισαν* Müller.

13 Τοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσιν, ἐνθυμουμένοις ὅτι πάντες οἱ κορυφαιότατοι τῆς συνωμοσίας οἱ μὲν ἀπολύονται τῶν σημείων, οἱ δ' ἀποστέλλονται δίχα τῶν ἄλλων ὁποιδήποτε, λογισμὸς εἰσῆλθε περιφανῆ γεγονέναι σφῶν τὴν συνωμοσίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέος, εἰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων γένοιντο καὶ τὰ ὅπλα θεῖεν, μὴ δίκας ὑπόσχωσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπαχθέντες· συνιόντες
14 τε κατ' ὀλίγους ἐσκόπουν τί χρὴ πράττειν. ἔπειτα γνώμην τινῶν[1] εἰσηγησαμένων περὶ ἀποστάσεως ἐπαινέσαντες τὸ βούλευμα καὶ πίστεις ἀπορρήτους ἐν ἀλλήλοις ποιησάμενοι οἱ[2] τῆς στρατείας ἀφειμένοι περὶ Ταρρακινὰ πόλιν ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις χωρίοις
15 παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν στρατοπεδεύονται. ἔπειθ' οἱ μετὰ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἀποστελλόμενοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καταλιπόντες, ἔστι δ' οὓς καὶ τῶν ἀγόντων σφᾶς στρατιωτῶν πείσαντες ἀποστῆναι, περὶ τὸν[3] αὐτὸν ἱδρύονται τόπον. ὡς δὲ ἅπαξ οὗτοι τὰς παρόδους κατελάβοντο, πολλοὶ προσῄεσαν αὐτοῖς ὁσημέραι, καὶ χεὶρ ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτοὺς καρτερά· ἔπειτα τὰ δεσμωτήρια ὑπ' αὐτῶν,[4] ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἦν, ἐλύετο καὶ συνέρρει . . . *Esc.*

IV. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ γῆν ἀδεῶς διελθόντες, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐναντιουμένων, τῶν δὲ συμπροπεμπόντων,—πολλαὶ δ' εἰσὶ δυσχωρίαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς Καμπανίαν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν ὄρεσί τε καὶ τέλμασι καὶ θαλάτταις καὶ ποταμοῖς ναυσιπόροις διακλειόμεναι, ἃς οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν διελθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκατα-

[1] Feder : *τινὰ* S. [2] *οἱ* added by Feder.
[3] *τὸν* added by Edd.
[4] *ὑπ' αὐτῶν* S : *ἁπάντων* Müller.

But the conspirators, reflecting that all their ringleaders were being either discharged from the standards or else sent to some destination or other apart from the rest, came to the conclusion that their conspiracy had been revealed, and then they became afraid that, if they should become separated and lay down their arms, they would have to pay the penalty when they were brought back to Rome ; and meeting together in small groups, they considered what they ought to do. Then, when some proposed a revolt, they approved the plan and gave secret pledges among themselves, after which those who had been discharged from the service made camp near the city of Tarracina in convenient spots right beside the road. Later, the men who were being sent with the legate and the tribunes, deserting their leaders and in some instances even persuading the soldiers who were escorting them to revolt, settled down in the same region. When these had once seized the by-roads, many others joined them daily, and a strong force was gathered about them. Then all the prisons that were in the country districts were opened by them and there flocked together . . .

IV. The Roman consuls passed unhindered through all the intervening region, some of the people offering no opposition and others actually escorting them on their way. There are many difficult passes along the road that leads from Rome to Campania, hemmed in by mountains, marshes, arms of the sea, and navigable rivers, and it was not easy to get through them when they had been occupied in advance by the enemy.

2 ληφθείσας,—καί τινα καὶ ποταμόν, ὃς διὰ τῆς Κασιλίνων[1] χώρας καὶ πόλεως φέρεται, τριάκοντα τῆς Καπύης ἀπέχοντα στάδια, Οὐολτουρνὸν[2] ὄνομα, τεττάρων οὐκ ἐλάττω πλέθρων ὄντα τὸ πλάτος, ξυλίνῃ γεφύρᾳ διαβάντες, ἣν ἐν τρισὶ κατεσκεύασαν ἡμέραις, διεξῆεσαν,[3] ἵνα τοῖς μὲν τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦσι Καμπανῶν[4] θάρσος ὡς τὰ κράτιστα προη-
3 ρημένοις ἐγγένηται, τοῖς δὲ τἀναντία δέος. καὶ προελθόντες ἐπέκεινα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα σταδίων Καπύης στρατοπεδεύονται ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ θέντες τὸν χάρακα, ἔνθα ὑπομένοντες τὰς παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν ἀγοράς τε καὶ συμμαχίας ἐκαραδόκουν. οἱ δὲ ἄρα ὑπισχνοῦντο μὲν αὐτοῖς πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν, ἐπήρκουν δ' οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, στρατιάν τ' ἀγείρειν[5] ἐκ πάσης πόλεως
4 σκηπτόμενοι κατέτριβον τοὺς χρόνους. ἀπογνόντες δὴ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπικουρίας καὶ τὰς μὲν ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις ὁρῶντες οὐθὲν ἰσχύος ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου προσλαμβανούσας, τὰς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων μακρῷ πλείους γινομένας, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν.
5 ἐνθυμούμενοι δ' ὅτι πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐστι τὸ δυσάγωγον καὶ ταῖς ἐπιταγαῖς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπειθές, ὡς ἐν ἄλλαις τε πολλαῖς πείραις ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐν τῇ Καμπανικῇ παραχειμασίᾳ, ἀφ' ἧς εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἦλθον αὐτῶν τινες ὥστε καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπατον καταλιπεῖν καὶ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὅπλα ἀναλαβεῖν, τούτους ᾤοντο δεῖν πρῶτον ἀποδεῖξαι σωφρονε-

[1] Feder : *βασιληνῶν* S.
[2] Feder : *οὐατουρνὼν* S, Οὐλτουρνὸν Müller.
[3] *διεξίεσαν* S.
[4] *καμπανῶν* S : Καμπανοῖς Feder(?) and later editors.
[5] *τ' ἀγείρειν* Feder : *τε γὰρ* S.

They also crossed a river, called the Volturnus, which flows through the territory and city of Casilinum, distant thirty stades from Capua and not less than four plethra [1] in breadth, getting across by means of a wooden bridge which they constructed in three days. They made their way through all these difficulties in order to inspire confidence in those of the Campanians who sided with them and convince them that they had made the best choice, and to inspire fear in those who took the opposite course. When they had advanced beyond the city, they encamped at a distance of forty stades from Capua, entrenching themselves in a lofty position, where they waited and kept watch for the provisions and reinforcements they expected from the Samnites. These, it seems, kept promising them more than was required, but were not furnishing anything worth mentioning, and while pretending to be gathering an army out of every city, were really marking time. The consuls, therefore, despairing of reinforcements from that quarter, and observing that their own forces were receiving no accession of strength with the passing of time, whereas those of the enemy were becoming much more numerous, resolved to set to work. But bearing in mind that a large part of the army was hard to manage and slow to obey the orders of its commanders, as it had shown not only on many other occasions, but also most recently while in its winter quarters in Campania, where some of them had gone to such a degree of madness as to make an attack upon cities, to desert the consul, and to take up arms against the fatherland, they thought they ought first of all to make these men more circumspect by causing

[1] The plethron was equal to 101 English feet.

στέρους, δεινότερον ποιήσαντες αὐτοῖς[1] τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ψόγον[2] ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων[3] 6 κίνδυνον. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες ἐκκλησίαν συνῆγον, καὶ λέγει Μάλλιος· [ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ στρατηγημάτων καὶ δημηγοριῶν. περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Μαλλίου τοῦ μονομαχήσαντος.] *Esc.*

V. (4) . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ[4] διότι τοὺς φίλους αὐτῶν Καμπανοὺς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔβλαπτον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Καμπανῶν πολλάκις ἐμφανιζόντων καὶ ἀποδυρομένων κατὰ[5] τῶν Νεαπολιτῶν, πρέσβεις ἐψηφίσατο[6] πρὸς τοὺς Νεαπολίτας ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς ἀξιώσοντας[7] αὐτοὺς μηθὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας παρανομεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδόναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ λαμβάνειν, καί, εἴ γε διαφέρονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μὴ δι' ὅπλων ἀλλὰ διὰ λόγων . . .,[8] σύμβολα ποιησαμένους πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς περιοικοῦντας τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος, μήτ' αὐτοὺς ἔργα πράττοντας ἃ μὴ προσῆκεν[9] Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖς πράττουσι συνεργοῦντας· μάλιστα δ' εἰ δύναιντο θεραπείαις[10] τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευάσοντας ἀποστῆναι μὲν ἀπὸ Σαυνιτῶν τὴν πόλιν, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι φίλην. 2 (5) ἔτυχον δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀφιγμένοι πρὸς τοὺς Νεαπολίτας πρέσβεις ὑπὸ Ταραντίνων ἀποσταλέντες, ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ πρόξενοι διὰ

[1] αὐτοὺς S.

[2] ψόγον Müller, reporting this as the reading of S : φόνον (corr. from φόνων) S, φόβον Feder, Jacoby.

[3] πολεμίων Feder, πολέμων Müller : πόλεων S.

[4] καὶ added by Ursinus. [5] κατὰ added by Ursinus.

[6] ἐψηφίσατο ER : ἐποιήσατο X ; V omits πρέσβεις . . . νεαπολίτας.

them to regard the reproof coming from their commanders as a more terrible thing than the danger threatening from their enemies. With this purpose in mind they called an assembly, and Manlius said : [The MS. adds : See the section on Stratagems and Speeches. Concerning the son of Manlius who fought in single combat.]

V. (4) . . . but also because they were inflicting many grievous injuries on their friends the Campanians.[1] The Roman senate, when the Campanians made repeated charges and complaints against the Neapolitans, voted to send ambassadors to the latter to demand that they should do no wrong to the subjects of the Roman empire, but should give and receive justice, and if they had any differences with one another, should settle [2] them not by arms but by discussion, after first making a compact with them ; and that for the future they should remain at peace with all the people dwelling along the Tyrrhenian sea, neither committing any acts themselves that were unbecoming to Greeks nor assisting others who did so ; but in particular, the envoys, if they could do so by courting the favour of the influential men, were to get the city ready to revolt from the Samnites and become friendly to the Romans. (5) It chanced that at this same time ambassadors sent by the Tarentines had come to the Neapolitans, men of distinction who

[1] For chaps. 5 f. *cf.* Livy viii. 22, 5-10.
[2] The verb is wanting in the MSS.

[7] Sylburg : *ἀξιώσαντας* O.
[8] A verb is wanting after *λόγων*. Steph.[2] suggested *διαλύσασθαι*, Reiske *κρίνεσθαι* or *διακρίνεσθαι*.
[9] *ἃ μὴ προσῆκεν* Kiessling, *ἃ μὴ προσήκει* Steph.[2] : *τὰ μὴ προσήκειν* O, *τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα* Ursinus.
[10] Sylburg : *θεραπείας* O.

γένους τῶν Νεαπολιτῶν· καὶ ἕτεροι ὑπὸ Νωλανῶν ὁμόρων ὄντων καὶ σφόδρα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀσπαζομένων, τἀναντία τοὺς Νεαπολίτας ἀξιώσοντες, μήτε σύμβολα ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἢ τοὺς ὑπηκόους αὐτῶν μήτε διαλύεσθαι τὴν πρὸς
3 Σαυνίτας φιλίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ταύτην ποιήσωνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ πολέμου τὴν[1] πρόφασιν, μὴ ὀρρωδεῖν μηδ' ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν καταπεπλῆχθαι, ἀλλὰ μένειν γενναίως καὶ ὡς προσῆκεν Ἕλλησι πολεμεῖν, τῇ τ' οἰκείᾳ πιστεύοντας[2] δυνάμει καὶ τῇ παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν ἀφιξομένῃ[3] βοηθείᾳ, ναυτικήν τ' ἰσχὺν προσληψομένους ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἣν Ταραντῖνοι πέμψουσιν, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ ταύτης δέωνται, πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθήν. *Ursin.*

VI. (6) Συναχθείσης δὲ[4] τῆς βουλῆς καὶ πολλῶν ῥηθέντων ἐν αὐτῇ λόγων, οὓς αἵ τε πρεσβεῖαι διεξῆλθον καὶ οἱ συναγορεύοντες αὐταῖς, διέστησαν αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν συνέδρων καὶ οἵ γε χαριέ-
2 στατοι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔδοξαν φρονεῖν. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲν ἐξηνέχθη προβούλευμα, εἰς ἑτέραν δὲ πάλιν ἕδραν ἀναβληθείσης τῆς περὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν διαγνώσεως, ἀφικόμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν Νεάπολιν Σαυνιτῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι καὶ τοὺς προεστηκότας τῶν κοινῶν θεραπείαις τισὶν οἰκειωσάμενοι πείθουσι τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ
3 δήμῳ ποιῆσαι τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος αἵρεσιν. καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργεσίας διεξῆσαν,[5] ἔπειτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως πολλὰ κατηγόρουν, ὡς ἀπίστου

[1] *τὴν* deleted by Hertlein. [2] Portus : *πιστεύοντες* O.
[3] *ἀφιξομένῃ* Ursinus : *ἀφανιζομένῃ* O.
[4] δὲ V : *οὖν* X.

had inherited ties of hospitality with the Neapolitans ; others also had come, sent by the Nolans, who were their neighbours and greatly admired the Greeks, to ask the Neapolitans on the contrary neither to make an agreement with the Romans or their subjects nor to give up their friendship with the Samnites. If the Romans should make this their pretext for war, the Neapolitans were not to be alarmed or terrified by the strength of the Romans in the belief that it was some invincible strength, but to stand their ground nobly and fight as befitted Greeks, relying both on their own army and the reinforcements which would come from the Samnites, and, in addition to their own naval force, being sure of receiving a large and excellent one which the Tarentines would send them in case they should require that also.

VI. (6) When the senate [1] had convened and many speeches had been made there by both the embassies and their supporters, the opinions of the councillors were divided, though the most enlightened seemed to favour the Roman cause. On that day, accordingly, no preliminary decree was passed but the decision with regard to the embassies was postponed to another session, at which time the most influential of the Samnites came in large numbers to Neapolis, and winning over the men at the head of the state by means of some favours, persuaded the senate to leave to the popular assembly the decision regarding the best interests of the state. And appearing before the assembly, they first recounted their own services, then made many accusations against the Roman state, charging it with being faithless and treacherous ; and

[1] The Neapolitan senate is meant.

[5] Sylburg : διεξίεσαν O.

καὶ δολίου,[1] τελευτῶντες[2] δὲ τοῦ λόγου θαυμαστὰς ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Νεαπολίταις[3] ὑποσχέσεις ἐὰν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καταστῶσι, στρατιάν τε πέμψειν, ὅσης ἂν δέωνται, τὴν φυλάξουσαν αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη, καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν εἰρεσίαν ἅπασαν παρέξειν, οὐ μόνον καταγγέλλοντες[4] τοῖς ἰδίοις στρατεύμασιν, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνοις[5] ἁπάσας τὰς εἰς
4 πόλεμον δαπάνας ἐπιχορηγοῦντες· ἀπωσαμένοις τε τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα Κύμην τ' ἀνασώσειν, ἣν δευτέρᾳ γενεᾷ πρότερον ἐξελάσαντες τοὺς Κυμαίους Καμπανοὶ κατέσχον, καὶ συγκατάξειν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα τοὺς περιόντας ἔτι Κυμαίων, οὓς οἱ Νεαπολῖται τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ πάντων ἐποιήσαντο κοινωνοὺς τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν, χώραν τε προσθήσειν τοῖς Νεαπολίταις ἐξ ἧς
5 οἱ Καμπανοὶ κατεῖχον[6] τὴν ἄπολιν.[7] (7) τῶν δὲ Νεαπολιτῶν ὅσον μὲν ἦν μέρος εὔλογον καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ δυνάμενον ὁρᾶν τὰς καταληψομένας τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορὰς εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἠξίου, τὸ δὲ φιλόκαινον καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ταραχῆς πλεονεξίας διῶκον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον συνελάμβανε[8]· καταβοαί τ' ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο καὶ χειροκρασίαι καὶ προέβη τὸ νεῖκος εἰς λίθων βολάς, καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐκράτησαν οἱ κακίους τῶν κρειττόνων, ὥστε τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπράκτους

[1] *ἀπίστου καὶ δολίου* Ursinus : *ἀπίστους καὶ δολίους* O.

[2] Sylburg : *τελευτῶντος* O.

[3] *τοῖς Νεαπολίταις* Ursinus : *τοὺς νεαπολίτας* O.

[4] *καταγγέλλοντες*, if the correct form, would seem to be misplaced here, as it should come earlier in the sentence: if it originally followed *καταστῶσι* its omission there would be easily explained. Post, retaining the word here, would read *ἐπιχορηγήσειν* just below. Sylburg had proposed *παραγγέλλοντες*.

[5] Ursinus : *κἀκείνους* O.

at the end of their speech they made some remarkable promises to the Neapolitans if they would enter the war. They would send an army, they announced, as large as the Neapolitans should require, to guard their walls, and would also furnish marines for their ships as well as all the rowers, providing all the expenses of the war not only for their own armies, but for the others too. Furthermore, when the Neapolitans had repulsed the Roman army, they would not only recover Cumae for them, which the Campanians had occupied two generations earlier [1] after expelling the Cumaeans, but would also restore to their possessions those of the Cumaeans who still survived—these, when driven out of their own city, had been received by the Neapolitans and made sharers of all their own blessings—and they would also grant to the Neapolitans some of the land the Campanians were then holding,—the part without cities.[2] (7) The element among the Neapolitans that was reasonable and able to foresee long in advance the disasters that would come upon the city from the war, wished to remain at peace ; but the element that was fond of innovations and sought the personal advantages to be gained from turmoil joined forces for the war. There were mutual recriminations and skirmishes, and the strife was carried to the point of hurling stones ; in the end the worse element overpowered the better, so that the ambassadors of the Romans returned home

[1] The date was 421 B.C., almost one hundred years earlier.

[2] Or, following Reiske's text, "a very large part."

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[6] *κατεῖχον* M (?), Kiessling : *κατεῖσχον* Z, *κατέσχον* Ursinus.

[7] *τιν'* (or *τὴν*) *ἄπολιν* Post : *τινὰ πόλιν* O, *πάνυ πολλὴν* Reiske.

[8] *συνελάμβανεν* Ursinus : *συνελάμβανον* O. Reiske assumed a lacuna before *συνελάμβανε*.

ἀπελθεῖν. διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Νεαπολίτας ἀποστεῖλαι ἐβουλεύθη. *Ursin.*

VII. (8) Ὅτι μαθόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Σαυνίτας στρατιὰν ἀγείρειν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, οἱ δὲ προχειρισθέντες ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν[1] πρέσβεις ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς προβούλους τῶν Σαυνι-
2 τῶν ἔλεξαν· "Ἀδικεῖτε, ἄνδρες Σαυνῖται, παραβαίνοντες τὰς ὁμολογίας ἃς ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὄνομα[2] μὲν ὑποδυόμενοι συμμάχων, ἔργα δὲ πράττοντες πολεμίων, πολλαῖς μὲν ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μάχαις, δεήσει δὲ μεγάλῃ καταλυσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τυχόντες εἰρήνης οἵας ἐβούλεσθε, τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα φίλοι γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν προθυμηθέντες καὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις[3] ὁμόσαντες ἕξειν ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους.
3 (9) ὧν ἁπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγησάμενοι τοὺς ὅρκους ἐγκατελείπετε μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λατίνους πολέμῳ καὶ πρὸς Οὐολούσκους συστάντι,[4] οὓς δι' ὑμᾶς ἐχθροὺς ἔχομεν οὐ βουλόμενοι τοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς συνάρασθαι πολέμου· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ Νεαπολίτας δεδιότας ἀναδεῖξαι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν πόλεμον ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι παρωρμήσατε, μᾶλλον δ' ἠναγκάσατε, καὶ τὰς δαπάνας ἐπιχορη-
4 γεῖτε καὶ τὴν πόλιν δι' ὑμῶν[5] αὐτῶν ἔχετε. νῦν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθε στρατιὰν ἐκ παντὸς ἀγείροντες[6] τόπου, πρόφασιν μὲν ἑτέραν ποιούμενοι, τὸ δ'

[1] *βουλευτῶν* (or *βουλευτικῶν*) Sylburg : *βουλευμάτων* O.
[2] Steph.[2] : *ὀνόματι* O, *ὀνόματα* Kiessling.
[3] Ursinus : *ῥωμαίους* V.
[4] Sylburg : *πρὸς οὐολούσκοις συστάντες* O.

without having accomplished anything. For these reasons the Roman senate resolved to send an army against the Neapolitans.

VII. (8) The Romans, learning that the Samnites were assembling an army,[1] first sent ambassadors ; these ambassadors, chosen from among the senators, came to the deputies of the Samnites and said : " You do wrong, Samnites, to transgress the compact which you made with us, assuming the name of allies while in reality performing the deeds of enemies. After being defeated in many battles by the Romans, you secured a termination of the war in answer to your earnest entreaties and obtained a peace such as you desired ; and at the last you were eager to become friends and allies of our state and swore to have the same enemies and friends as the Romans. (9) But forgetting all this and regarding your oaths as naught, you deserted us in the war that arose with the Latins and with the Volscians, whom we have as enemies on your account because we were unwilling to join them in their war against you ; and this last year, when the Neapolitans were afraid to declare war against us, you devoted all your zeal and efforts to encouraging them, or rather compelling them, to do so, and are paying all the expenses and are holding their city with your own forces. And now you are preparing an army, gathering it from every quarter, alleging indeed a different reason, but in reality

[1] For chaps. 7–10 *cf.* Livy viii. 23, 1-13.

[5] δι' ὑμῶν Reiske : δὲ ἡμῶν O.
[6] Sylburg : ἐγείροντες O.

ἀληθὲς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐγνωκότες ἄγειν ἀποίκους[1]· καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ἀδίκους πλεονεξίας Φουνδανοὺς παρακαλεῖτε καὶ Φορμιανοὺς καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς οἷς ἡμεῖς ἰσοπολιτείας μετεδώκαμεν. (10) οὕτω δὲ φανερῶς καὶ ἀναισχύντως συγχεόντων ὑμῶν τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ὅρκια, ἡμεῖς τὰ δίκαια[2] ποιοῦντες πρεσβείαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκρίναμεν[3] ἀποστεῖλαι πρῶτον, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἄρξαι τῶν ἔργων πρὶν ἢ πειραθῆναι τῶν λόγων. ἃ δὲ προκαλούμεθα[4] ὑμᾶς καὶ ὧν τυχόντες τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν ὀργὴν ἀποπληρώσειν οἰόμεθα, ταῦτα ἐστί· πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάγειν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν τὴν ἀποσταλεῖσαν Νεαπολίταις συμμαχίαν, ἔπειτα μηδεμίαν[5] ἐκπέμπειν στρατιὰν κατὰ τῶν ἀποίκων τῶν ἡμετέρων μηδὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς πλεονεξίας παρακαλεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πᾶσι δόξαντα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔπραττόν[6] τινες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν γνώμης, παραδοῦναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ δίκην. τούτων τυχόντες ἀρκούμεθα, μὴ τυχόντες δὲ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας οὓς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὠμόσατε μαρτυρόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς εἰρηνοδίκας ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἄγοντες ἐληλύθαμεν." *Ursin.*

VIII. (11) Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ῥωμαίου λέξαντος βουλευσάμενοι καθ' αὑτοὺς οἱ πρόβουλοι τῶν Σαυνιτῶν τοιαύτην ἐξήνεγκαν ἀπόκρισιν· "Τοῦ μὲν ὀψισμοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Λατίνων πόλεμον συμμαχίας οὐ τὸ κοινὸν αἴτιον, ἐψηφισάμεθα γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι τὴν στρατιὰν ὑμῖν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντες αὐτῆς πλείονα χρόνον ἀναλώσαντες ἐν τῇ παρα-

[1] Ursinus : *ἐποίκους* O.
[2] *ἡμεῖς τὰ δίκαια* added by Cohn; Ursinus deleted *ποιοῦντες*.
[3] Reiske : *ἔκριναν* O.

having resolved to lead it against our colonists ; and to these unjust encroachments you are inviting the Fundans and Formians, as well as some others to whom we have granted citizenship. (10) Though you were thus openly and shamelessly violating your treaty of friendship and alliance, we, nevertheless, pursuing the just course, decided to send an embassy to you first and not to begin with deeds before trying arguments. The things which we ask you to do, and the obtaining of which we believe will satisfy our anger at your past deeds, are these : First, we wish you to withdraw the armed assistance you have sent to the Neapolitans, and, second, not to send out any army against our colonists nor to invite our subjects to all your encroachments. If some of you have been doing these things without the approval of all, but on their own initiative, we ask you to surrender the men to us for trial. If we gain these demands, we are content ; but if we fail to obtain them, we call to witness the gods and lesser divinities by whom you swore in making the treaty, and we have come bringing with us the *fetiales* for this purpose."

VIII. (11) When the Roman had spoken to this effect, the deputies of the Samnites, after consulting together, delivered the following reply : " For the delay on the part of our contingent in going to war against the Latins the state is not to blame—for we voted that the army should be sent to you—but rather those in command of it, who spent too much

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[4] Sylburg : *προσκαλούμεθα* O.

[5] *ἔπειτα μηδεμίαν* Reiske, *ἔπειτα δὲ μηδεμίαν* Ursinus : *ἔπειτα δὲ μίαν* O.

[6] *ἃ* before *ἔπραττόν* deleted by Steph.[2] Kiessling proposed to read *εἰ δὲ μὴ πᾶσιν ἔδοξεν ταῦτα ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' . . . ἔπραττόν τινες.*

σκευῇ,[1] καὶ ὑμεῖς[2] αὐτοὶ θᾶττον ἐπειχθέντες[3] ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· τρισὶ γοῦν ἢ τέτταρσιν ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῆς μάχης οἱ[4] πεμφθέντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀφίκοντο.
3 περὶ δὲ τῆς Νεαπολιτῶν πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἡμετέρων[5] τινές εἰσιν, τοσούτου[6] δέομεν ἀδικεῖν ὑμᾶς, εἴ τινα τοῖς κινδυνεύουσι βοήθειαν εἰς σωτηρίαν κοινῇ παρεχόμεθα, ὥστ' αὐτοὶ δοκοῦμεν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδικεῖσθαι μεγάλα. φίλην γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ σύμμαχον οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οὐκ ἔναγχος οὐδ' ἀφ' οὗ τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς[7] ἐποιησάμεθα ὁμολογίας, ἀλλὰ δευτέρᾳ γενεᾷ πρότερον διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας, οὐθὲν ἀδικηθέντες ὑμεῖς
5 κατεδουλώσασθε. (12) οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τούτῳ γε τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ κοινὸν ὑμᾶς τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ἠδίκησεν· ἰδιόξενοι δέ τινές εἰσιν, ὡς πυνθανόμεθα, καὶ φίλοι τῶν Νεαπολιτῶν οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν τῇ πόλει βοηθοῦντες καί τινες καὶ δι' ἀπορίαν ἴσως βίου μισθοφόροι. ὑφαιρεῖν[8] δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὑμῶν οὐθὲν δεόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ Φουνδανῶν καὶ Φορμιανῶν ἱκανοὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐσμεν, ἐὰν
4 καταστῶμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην πολέμου. ἡ δὲ παρασκευὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὐχ ὡς ἀφαιρησομένων τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀποίκους τὰ ἴδια, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ ἴδια ἐξόντων διὰ φυλακῆς.[9] ἀντιπροκαλούμεθά[10] τε ὑμᾶς, εἰ βούλεσθε τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν, ἐκχωρεῖν Φρεγέλλης,[11] ἣν οὐ[12] πρὸ πολλοῦ πολέμῳ[13]

[1] παρῃ PV. [2] Ursinus : ἡμεῖς O.
[3] Sylburg : ἐπιχθέντες BEVI[1], ἐπαχθέντες MI[2].
[4] οἱ added by Steph.[2]. [5] Ursinus : ὑμετέρων O.
[6] Jacoby : τοσοῦτον O.
[7] Sylburg : ἡμᾶς O.
[8] ὑφαιρεῖν Cohn, ἀφαιρεῖν Sylburg : φέρειν O, διαφθείρειν Reiske.

time in preparation, and you yourselves, who were too hasty in rushing into the struggle. In any case it was only three or four days after the battle that the troops sent by us arrived. As for the city of Neapolis, in which there are some of our troops, far from wronging you if we as a state contribute some aid toward the safety of those who are in danger, it is rather we ourselves who seem to be greatly wronged by you. For, though this city had become our friend and ally, not just recently nor from the time when we made our compact with you, but two generations earlier, in return for many great services, you enslaved it, though you had been wronged in no respect. (12) Yet not even in this action has the Samnite state wronged you ; rather it is some men connected by private ties of hospitality, as we learn, and friends of the Neapolitans who are aiding that city of their own free will, together with some also who through lack of a livelihood, perhaps, are serving as mercenaries. As for stealing away your subjects, we have no need of such a course ; for even without the Fundans and Formians we are quite able to succour ourselves if we are driven to the necessity of war. The getting of our army in readiness is not the act of those who are intending to rob your colonists of their possessions, but rather of those who intend to keep their own possessions under guard. We ask you in turn, if you wish to pursue the just course, to retire from Fregellae, which, after we had conquered it in war

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[9] Ursinus : *διαφυλακαῖς* V.
[10] Sylburg : *ἀντικαλούμεθα* O. [11] Ursinus : *φλυγέλλης* O.
[12] *οὐ* om. V. [13] Ursinus : *πολέμου* O.

κρατησάντων ἡμῶν, ὅσπερ[1] ἐστὶ νόμος κτήσεως δικαιότατος, ὑμεῖς οὐδενὶ δικαίῳ σφετερισάμενοι δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη κατέχετε. τούτων ἡμεῖς τυχόντες οὐδὲν ὑποληψόμεθα ἀδικεῖσθαι." *Ursin.*

IX. (13) Μετὰ τοῦτο παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰρηνοδίκης εἶπεν· "Οὐθὲν ἔτι τὸ κωλῦσόν ἐστιν, οὕτω φανερῶς ἀνῃρηκότων ὑμῶν τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὅρκια . . .[2] βουλεύεσθε[3] τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον[4] αἰτιάσασθαι. πάντα γὰρ αὐτῷ πέπρακται κατὰ τοὺς ἱερούς τε καὶ πατρίους[5] νόμους, τά τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια, δικασταὶ δὲ τῶν μενόντων ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις οἱ λαχόντες πολέμους ἐπισκοπεῖν
2 ἔσονται θεοί." μέλλων δ' ἀπιέναι τήν τε περιβολὴν κατὰ κεφαλῆς εἵλκυσε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχὼν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀρὰς[6] ἐποιήσατο τοῖς θεοῖς· εἰ μὲν ἄδικα πάσχουσα ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις καὶ μὴ δυναμένη μετὰ λόγου καὶ κρίσεως διαλῦσαι τὰς διαφορὰς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρήσαι,[7] βουλάς τε ἀγαθὰς αὐτῇ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ἐπὶ νοῦν ἄγειν, καὶ πράξεις ἐν πᾶσι διδόναι τοῖς πολέμοις[8] εὐτυχεῖν[9]· εἰ δὲ αὐτή[10] τι πλημμελοῦσα τὰ περὶ[11] τῆς φιλίας ὅρκια προφάσεις κατα-

[1] Sylburg : ὅπερ O.
[2] Lacuna recognized by Reiske. Post would supply μηδ' ἄδικα.
[3] βουλεύεσθαι Sylburg.
[4] τὸν τῶν ῥ. δῆμον M, τῶν ῥ. δῆμον V.
[5] Steph.[2] : πατρικοὺς O.
[6] ἀρᾶς E, ἀραῖς V.
[7] de Boor : χωρῆσαι O, χωρήσει Ursinus.
[8] καὶ πράξεις ἐν πᾶσι διδόναι τοῖς πολέμοις Reiske : καὶ πράξειεν πᾶσι διδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις O, Jacoby.
[9] εὐτυχεῖν V : ἐντυχεῖν Z, Jacoby, εὐτυχεῖς Reiske.
[10] Ursinus : αὐτῇ O.
[11] τὰ περὶ (παρὰ X) O : περὶ τὰ Reiske.

a short time ago—and this is the most just title to possession—you appropriated with no show of justice and now hold for the second year. If we on our side gain these points, we shall not feel that we are wronged in any respect."

IX. (13) Thereupon the Roman *fetialis*, taking the floor, said : " There is no longer anything to prevent, now that you Samnites have so openly violated your oaths to maintain the peace, . . .[1] [and do not] plan to lay the blame upon the Roman people. For everything has been done by them in accordance with the sacred and time-honoured laws, both what is holy in the sight of the gods and just in the sight of men, and the judges to decide which people has abided by the compact will be the gods whose province it is to watch over wars." As he was about to depart, he drew his mantle down over his head, and raising his hands toward heaven, as is the custom, he uttered prayers to the gods : " If the Roman commonwealth, having suffered wrongs at the hands of the Samnites and being unable to settle the differences by argument and a decision, should proceed to deeds, may the gods and lesser divinities not only inspire her mind with good counsels but also grant that her undertakings in all her wars may prove successful[2] ; but if she herself is guilty of any violation of the oaths of friend-

[1] More seems to have been lost from the text at this point than the words supplied in brackets. We naturally expect something like " no longer anything to prevent the Roman people from declaring war " ; *cf.* ii. 72, 9, where the procedure of the *fetiales* was described.

[2] The text of this last clause is very uncertain ; see the critical note.

σκευάζεται τῆς ἔχθρας οὐκ ἀληθεῖς, μήτε βουλὰς ὀρθοῦν αὐτῆς[1] μήτε πράξεις. *Ursin.*

X. (14) Ὡς διελύθησαν ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα ἐδήλωσαν ἑκάτεροι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πόλεσι, τὰς ἐναντίας ἔσχον ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων δόξας ἀμφότεροι, Σαυνῖται μὲν βραδύτερα τὰ[2] τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔσεσθαι[3] νομίζοντες, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ὅτε μέλλοιεν ἄρχειν πολέμου, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὴν Σαυνιτῶν στρατιὰν ἥξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὑτῶν ἀπ-
2 οίκους[4] Φρεγελλανοὺς[5] οἰόμενοι. ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖς τὰ εἰκότα παθεῖν συνέβη.[6] οἱ μὲν γὰρ παρασκευαζόμενοι καὶ μέλλοντες ἀπώλεσαν τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν πράξεων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐν ἑτοίμῳ πᾶσαν ἔχοντες παρασκευὴν ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τόν τε πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀπέστειλαν ἀμφοτέρους· καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἔξοδον, ἥ τε νεωστὶ καταγραφεῖσα καὶ ἡ[7] περὶ Οὐολούσκους χειμερίζουσα δύναμις, ἣν εἶχε Κορνήλιος, ἐντὸς ἦν τῶν Σαυνιτικῶν ὅρων. *Ursin.*

[1] Post : *αὐτοῖς* O, Jacoby, *αὐτοὺς* Kiessling.
[2] *τὰ* added by Ursinus.
[3] *ἔσεσθαι τῶν ῥωμαίων* X. [4] Steph.[2] : *ἐποίκους* O.

Φοῦνδα, πόλις Ἰταλίας· οἱ πολῖται Φουνδανοί, Διονύσιος ιε' Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. *Steph. Byz.*

Καλησία, πόλις Αὐσονική. Διονύσιος ιε' Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καλησιανός, ὡς αὐτός. *Steph. Byz.*

ship and is trumping up false grounds for hostility, may they prosper neither her counsels nor her undertakings."

X. (14) When they had departed from the assembly and each side had reported to its cities what had been said, they drew opposite conclusions about each other, the Samnites expecting that the Romans would move rather slowly, as it is their custom to do when they are about to begin war, and the Romans believing that the Samnites' army would soon proceed against their colonists in Fregellae. Then they each met with the experience that might have been expected. For the Samnites, while making their preparations and delaying, lost the opportunities for action, whereas the Romans, having everything prepared and in readiness, as soon as they learned the answer given to their ambassadors, voted for war and sent out both consuls ; and before the enemy was aware that they had set out, both the newly-enrolled force and the one that was wintering among the Volscians, under the command of Cornelius, were inside the Samnite borders.

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[5] Sylburg : φλεγελλάνους O.
[6] συνέβη παθεῖν V. [7] ἡ added by Kiessling.

Fundi, a city of Italy ; the citizens, Fundani. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xv. (*Cf.* Livy viii. 14, 10 ; 19, 10-14.)

Cales, an Ausonian city. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xv. *Eth.*[1] Calenus, *idem.* (*Cf.* Livy viii. 16, 6-14.)

[1] See the note on p. 257.

EXCERPTS FROM BOOK XVI

I. (1) Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸν κατὰ Σαυνιτῶν τελευταῖον πόλεμον ἐξιόντων κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον κατασκήψας πέντε μὲν στρατιώτας ἀπέκτεινε, δύο δὲ σημείας διέφθειρεν, ὅπλα δὲ πολλὰ τὰ μὲν κατέκαυσε, τὰ δ' ἐσπίλωσε. κεραυνοὶ δὲ κατηνέχθησαν[1] τοῖς ἔργοις ἔτυμον[2] φέροντες τοὔνομα· κεραϊσμοὶ γάρ τινές εἰσι καὶ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων εἰς τἀναντία τρέποντες τὰς ἀνθρω-
2 πίνας τύχας. αὐτὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἠνάγκασται τὴν ἰδίαν ἀλλάξαι φύσιν τὸ κεραύνιον πῦρ, εἴτε δὴ αἰθέριον[3] εἴτε μετάρσιόν ἐστι, κάτω φερόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτῷ θέμις ἐπὶ γῆν βρίθειν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω μετεωροπολεῖν·
3 ἐν αἰθέρι γὰρ αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ θείου πυρός. (2) δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ[4] τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν, εἴτε Προμηθέως εἴτε Ἡφαίστου δῶρόν ἐστιν, ὁπότε λύσειε[5] τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἐν οἷς ἠνάγκασται μένειν, δι' ἀέρος ἄνω

[1] Struve : *κατήχθησαν* Q.
[2] Mai : *ἕτοιμον* Q.
[3] Cary : *αἴθριον* Q.
[4] *τὸ πῦρ* added by Struve.
[5] *λύσειε* Jacoby, *λύσειεν* (*sic*) Kiessling : *λύσει* Q, *λύοι* Struve.

EXCERPTS
FROM
BOOK XVI

I. (1) When the Romans were setting out for their last war against the Samnites, a thunderbolt struck in the most conspicuous spot, killing five soldiers, destroying two standards, and either burning or tarnishing many weapons. The thunderbolts (*keraunoi*) that descend bear a name truly descriptive of their effects; for they are devastations (*keraïsmoi*) of a sort and transformations of the underlying substances, reversing mortal fortunes. For, in the first place, the bolt's fire itself is compelled to change its own nature as it rushes down, whether its natural abode is the ethereal space or the region immediately above the earth; for it is not meet for it, in view of its inherent nature, to gravitate earthward, but rather to move aloft away from the earth, since it is in the ether that the sources of the divine fire are found. (2) This is shown even by the fire that we know—whether this be the gift of Prometheus or of Hephaestus—which, whenever it bursts the bonds in which it has been forced to remain, leaps upward

φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ συγγενὲς ἐκεῖνο καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιειληφὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν. τὸ δὴ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο καὶ χωρισθὲν[1] ὕλης φθαρτῆς δι' αἰθέρος[2] ὀχούμενον, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καταφέρηται βιασθὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς ἰσχυρᾶς, μεταβολὰς μαντεύεται
4 καὶ τροπὰς ἐπὶ τοὔμπαλιν. (3) τοιούτου γοῦν τινος γενομένου καὶ τότε καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὑπὸ Ποντίου τοῦ Σαυνίτου κατακλεισθέντες εἰς ἀνεξόδους δυσχωρίας, μέλλοντες ἤδη τῷ λιμῷ διαφθείρεσθαι παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισμυρίους ὄντες· καὶ καταλείψαντες τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὸν ζυγὸν ἅπαντες ὑπῆλθον· τοῦτο δὲ σημεῖον τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρας ἐλθόντων ἐστί. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Πόντιος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔπαθε, καὶ τὸν ζυγὸν ὑπῆλθον καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. *Ambr.*

II. (4) "Ἐν τοῦτό σε ἀξιοῦμεν, ἤδη κείμενοι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ὄντες, μηδεμίαν ἡμῶν ὕβριν προσθεῖναι ταῖς συμφοραῖς μηδὲ βαρεῖ[3] ποδὶ ταῖς
2 ἀθλίαις ἐπεμβῆναι τύχαις."

"Οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων παῖδας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπολωλέκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀδελφούς, πολλοὶ δὲ φίλους; οἷς ἅπασι πῶς ἄκρατον νομίζεις ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀνθήσειν τὴν χολήν, ἐὰν κωλύῃ τις αὐτοὺς τοσαύταις ψυχαῖς πολεμίων τιμῆσαι τοὺς κατὰ γῆς,[4] αἴπερ μόναι τῶν κατ-

[1] Struve : χωρίον Q. [2] Post : ἀέρος Q.
[3] Mai : βαρὺ Q. [4] Krüger : γῆν Q.

through the air to that kindred fire which embraces the whole universe round about. Hence that fire which is divine and separated from corruptible matter as it roams through the ether,[1] when it descends to the earth under the compulsion of some drastic necessity, portends changes and reversals. (3) At any rate,[2] when some such portent occurred also at the time in question, the Romans scorned it, and having been hemmed by Pontius the Samnite into a difficult position from which escape was impossible, when they were now on the point of perishing from famine, they surrendered themselves, about 40,000 in number, to the enemy ; and leaving behind their arms and effects, they all passed under the yoke, which is a token that men have come under the power of others. But not long afterwards Pontius also suffered the same fate at the hands of the Romans, when both he himself and those with him passed under the yoke.

II. (4) " This one thing we ask of you, now that we lie prostrate and are as naught, that you do not add to our calamities by any ignominious treatment nor trample with a heavy foot upon our wretched misfortunes."

" Do you not know that many of our people have lost their sons in the wars, many their brothers, and many their friends ? And what unmitigated resentment do you suppose will spring up and flourish in the hearts of all the bereaved if anyone prevents them from honouring those who are beneath the earth with the lives of an equal number of enemies—those lives which alone seem to be true honours for

[1] " Ether " is the emendation of Post in place of " air," the reading of the MS. [2] For § 4 *cf.* Livy ix. 1–15.

3 οιχομένων δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τιμαί; (5) φέρε δὴ[1] κεἰ[2] τοῦτο πεισθέντες ἢ βιασθέντες ἢ ὅ τι δή ποτε παθόντες εἴξουσί τε[3] καὶ ζῆν αὐτοὺς ἐάσουσιν, ἆρ' ἔτι σοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοὺς ἐάσειν ἔχειν καὶ μηδεμιᾶς πειραθέντας ἀσχημοσύνης, ὥσπερ ἥρωάς τινας ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς φανέντας, ὁπότε δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ θηρία περιχυθέντες[4] διασπάσεσθαι ταῦτα λέγειν
4 ἐπιβαλόμενον ἐμέ; οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τοὺς κυνηγοὺς οἱ θηρευταὶ κύνες, ὅταν ἁλῷ θηρίον κατακλεισθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ λίνα, περίστανται τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν μοῖραν ἀπαιτοῦντες τῆς ἄγρας,[5] καὶ ἐὰν μὴ μεταλάβωσιν εὐθὺς αἵματος ἢ σπλάγχνων, ἀρράζουσιν ἐπόμενοι καὶ σπαράττουσι τὸν κυνηγὸν καὶ οὔτε διωκόμενοι οὔτε παιόμενοι ἀπείργονται;" *Ambr.*

III. (6) Δι' ἡμέρας μὲν ὅλης ἀγωνιζόμενοι τῶν πόνων ἠνείχοντο, ἀφελομένου δὲ τοῦ σκότους τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν τε οἰκείων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους χάρακας ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος περὶ τὰς θυσίας παρανομήσας τι ἀπετυφλώθη καὶ Καῖκος προσηγορεύθη· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τυφλοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν.

2 Αἱ ἐντοίχιοι γραφαὶ ταῖς τε γραμμαῖς πάνυ ἀκριβεῖς ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς μίγμασιν[6] ἡδεῖαι, παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένον ἔχουσαι τοῦ καλουμένου ῥώπου τὸ ἀνθηρόν.

[1] δὴ Q acc. to Ambrosch and Kiessling, δὲ acc. to Mai.
[2] κεἰ Jacoby : καὶ Q, κἂν Kiessling ; φέρε εἰ δὲ δὴ Naber.
[3] εἴξουσί τε Struve : εἴξωσί με QA ; εἴξωσί γε . . . ἐάσωσιν Kiessling.

the departed ? (5) But come, even if, as the result of persuasion or compulsion or however swayed, they shall yield this point and permit them to live, does it seem likely to you that they will go still farther and allow them to retain their effects and permit them without suffering any ignominious treatment, but, like heroes who have made their appearance for the good fortune of this country, to depart whenever they please, but will not rather, like wild beasts, surround me and tear me limb from limb for having taken it upon myself to make this proposal ? Do you not observe that even hunting-dogs, when a wild beast has been driven by them into the nets and caught, surround the hunters, demanding the share of the quarry that belongs to them, and unless they promptly get a share of the blood or of the inwards, follow the hunter snarling and rend him in pieces, and are not driven away even when they are chased or beaten ? "

III. (6) Fighting the whole day long, they endured the hardships ; but when darkness prevented their distinguishing friends and foes, they departed to their own camps.

Appius Claudius, having committed some error in connexion with the sacrifices, was made blind and was given the cognomen Caecus ; for that is the Roman word for the blind.

The mural paintings were not only very accurate in their lines but also pleasing in the mixture of colours, and their florid style was free from what is called tawdriness.

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[4] Kiessling : *περιχυθέντας* Q, Jacoby.
[5] Mai : *ἀγορᾶς* QA.
[6] *μιμήμασιν* Struve.

Τὰς νουμηνίας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλάνδας καλοῦσι, τὰς δὲ διχοτόμους νόννας, τὰς δὲ πανσελήνους εἰδούς. *Ambr.*

3 (7) Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ μέσην ἀγωνιζομένοις τὴν φάλαγγα ἀσπάθητον οὖσαν καὶ λαγαρὰν οἱ τῇδε τεταγμένοι συμπεσόντες ἐξέωσαν τῆς στάσεως.

Ὁ κατοικίδιός τε καὶ διοπετὴς[1] πόλεμος ἐμάραινε τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως.

Ἄνδρας ἱεραγωγοὺς καὶ ἱεραφορίᾳ τετιμημένους.

Φορᾶς ἀβούλου μεστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ μανικὸν ἔχων τὸ τολμηρόν, ἰδιογνωμονήσας καὶ ὑφ'[2] ἑαυτῷ ποιήσας πάντα τὰ[3] τοῦ πολέμου.

4 "Ἐπειτα σὺ τολμᾷς κατηγορεῖν τῆς τύχης ὡς κακῶς τοῖς πράγμασι χρησαμένης ἐπὶ περιτραπέντος αὐτὸς[4] καθίσας σκάφους; οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ[5];"

Μέλη τὰ μὲν θεραπείας ἔτι δεόμενα, τὰ δὲ τὰς οὐλὰς ἐφέλκοντα νεωστί. *Ambr.*

IV. (8) [Ὅτι, φησὶ Διονύσιος,] μιᾶς ἔτι μνησθήσομαι πράξεως πολιτικῆς ἀξίας ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἐξ ἧς καταφανὲς ἔσται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅσον ἦν τὸ μισοπόνηρον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε καὶ τὸ[6] πρὸς τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὰ κοινὰ
2 νόμιμα[7] τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀμείλικτον.[8] Γάιος Λαιτώριος Μέργος[9] ἐπίκλησιν ἐπιφανὴς κατὰ γένος καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις οὐκ ἀγεννής, ἑνὸς τῶν ταγμάτων χιλίαρχος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐν τῷ

[1] Jacoby : *κλινοπετὴς* Q. [2] *ἐφ'* Kiessling.
[3] *τὰ* added by Hertlein.
[4] Struve : *αὐτὴν* Q, Jacoby.
[5] Struve : *ἦν* Q, Jacoby.
[6] *τὸ* Suidas : om. P.
[7] *κοινὰ καὶ νόμιμα* Suidas.
[8] *ἀμείλικτον* Suidas : *ἀμείλικτα* P.

The Romans call the new moons calends, the half moons nones, and the full moons ides.

(7) Against the troops who were fighting in the middle of the phalanx, which was widely spaced and lax, those who were stationed here charged in a body and drove them from their position.

The heaven-sent [1] domestic war was wasting away the flower of the state.

Men who bore the offerings and had been honoured with the carrying of the sacred vessels.

A man full of unreasoning impulsiveness who carried boldness to the point of madness, one who had followed his own counsel and had got in his hands the whole conduct of the war.[2]

" Do you then dare to accuse Fortune of having managed affairs badly, you who seated yourself [3] on an overturned boat ? Are you [3] so stupid ? "

Limbs, some of which still needed medical attention while others had just begun to form scars . . .

IV. (8) One more political incident I shall relate, [says Dionysius], deserving of praise on the part of all men, from which it will be clear to the Greeks how great was the hatred of wrongdoing felt in Rome at that time and how implacable the anger against those who transgressed the universal laws of human nature. Gaius Laetorius, with the cognomen Mergus, a man of distinguished birth and not without bravery in warlike deeds, who had been appointed tribune of one of the legions in the Samnite war,

[1] This is Jacoby's conjecture for an impossible reading in the MS.

[2] Or, following Kiessling's reading, " had done everything pertaining to the war on his own authority."

[3] The MS. has " seated her " and " So stupid was he."

[9] *μέρκος* P, *μάρκος* Suidas.

Σαυνιτικῷ πολέμῳ, νεανίαν τινὰ τῶν ὁμοσκήνων διαφέροντα τὴν ὄψιν ἑτέρων μέχρι μέν τινος ἔπειθεν ἑαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὥραν ἑκόντα· ὡς δ' οὔτε δωρεαῖς οὔτ' ἄλλῃ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὸ μειράκιον ἡλίσκετο, κατέχειν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀδύ-
3 νατος ὢν βίαν προσφέρειν ἐπεβάλετο. περιβοήτου δὲ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ[1] στρατοπέδου γενομένης κοινὸν ἀδίκημα τῆς πόλεως εἶναι νομίσαντες οἱ δήμαρχοι γραφὴν ἀποφέρουσι κατ' αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἁπάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατέγνω τίμημα δίκης ὁρίσας θάνατον,[2] οὐκ ἀξιῶν εἰς ἐλεύθερα σώματα καὶ προπολεμοῦντα τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντας[3] ὑβρίζειν τὰς ἀνηκέστους καὶ παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ὕβρεις. *Vales.*; *Suidas s.v.* Γάιος Λαιτώριος; *Ambr.*

V. (9) Ἔτι δὲ τούτου θαυμασιώτερον ἔπραξαν[4] οὐ πολλοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, καίτοι περὶ δοῦλον σῶμα γενομένης τῆς ὕβρεως. ἑνὸς γὰρ τῶν παραδόντων Σαυνίταις τὸ στρατόπεδον χιλιάρχων καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ὑπελθόντων Ποπλίου υἱὸς ὡς[5] ἐν πολλῇ καταλειφθεὶς πενίᾳ δάνειον ἠναγκάσθη λαβεῖν εἰς τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ πατρός, ὡς ἐρανισθησόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν. διαψευσθεὶς δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπῄχθη πρὸς τὸ χρέος τῆς προθεσμίας

[1] τοῦ P : om. Suidas.

[2] Valesius : θανάτου P. The very brief summary of this chapter given by the Ambrosianus ends with οἱ δήμαρχοι θάνατον αὐτὸν (sic) κατέγνωσαν.

[3] ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντας Post : ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὄντας ἀρχαῖς P, Suidas : ἐν ταῖς στρατηγίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὄντας ἀρχαῖς Reiske, ἐν μεγάλαις ὄντας ἀρχαῖς Smit, ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ὄντας καὶ ἀρχαῖς Jacoby.

[4] Valesius : ἔπραξεν P.

[5] ὡς Reiske : ὢν P.

attempted for a time to persuade a youth of exceptional beauty among his tentmates to put the charms of his body at his disposal voluntarily ; then, when the boy was not to be lured either by gifts or by any other friendly overture, Laetorius, unable to restrain his passion, attempted to use force. When the man's disgraceful conduct had become noised throughout the entire camp, the tribunes of the people, holding that it was a crime against the whole state, brought an indictment against him publicly, and the people unanimously condemned him, after fixing death as the penalty ; for they were unwilling that persons who were of free condition and were fighting in behalf of the freedom of their fellow citizens should be subjected by those in positions of command [1] to abuses that are irreparable and do violence to the male's natural instincts.

V. (9) A thing still more remarkable than this was done by them a few years earlier, though the mistreatment involved the person of a slave. The son, namely, of Publius,[2] one of the military tribunes who had surrendered the army to the Samnites and passed under the yoke, inasmuch as he had been left in dire poverty, was compelled to borrow money for the burial of his father, expecting to repay it out of contributions to be made by his relations. But being disappointed in his expectation, he was seized in lieu

[1] The translation follows the text as emended by Post. The MSS. give " those in the other offices." Reiske proposed " those in military commands and other offices," Smit " those in high offices," Jacoby " those in offices and magistracies."

[2] An error for Publilius, the form given by Livy (viii. 28.) Livy puts this incident before the disaster at the Caudine Forks; Dionysius and Valerius Maximus (vi. 1, 9) put it after that event.

διελθούσης, κομιδῇ νέος ὢν καὶ τῇ ὄψει ὡραῖος.
2 οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὑπηρετῶν ὅσα δούλους δεσπόταις νόμος ἦν ἠνείχετο, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὥραν χαρίσασθαι κελευόμενος ἠγανάκτει καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπεμάχετο. πολλὰς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μαστίγων λαβὼν πληγὰς ἐξέδραμεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ στὰς ἐπὶ μετεώρου τινός, ἔνθα πολλοὺς ἔμελλε τῆς ὕβρεως λήψεσθαι μάρτυρας, τήν τε ἀκολασίαν τοῦ δανειστοῦ διηγήσατο καὶ τῶν μαστίγων τοὺς
3 μώλωπας ὑπέδειξεν. ἀγανακτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ δημοσίας ὀργῆς ἄξιον ἡγησαμένου τὸ πρᾶγμα †καὶ τὴν κρίσιν[1] κατηγορούντων τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν τῶν δημάρχων ὤφλε[2] θανάτου δίκην. καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο τὸ πάθος ἅπαντες οἱ δουλωθέντες πρὸς τὰ χρέα Ῥωμαῖοι νόμῳ κυρωθέντι τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκομίσαντο. *Vales.*; *Suidas s.v.* Γάιος Λαιτώριος.

VI. (10) Ἀξιῶν τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ κατάχρεων . . .

Αἱ νεοσφαγεῖς τῶν θυομένων σάρκες μέχρι τούτου διατελοῦσι τρέμουσαί τε καὶ παλλόμεναι ἕως ἂν[3] τὸ κατεχόμενον ἐν αὐταῖς συγγενὲς πνεῦμα
2 βιασάμενον τοὺς πόρους ἅπαν ἐξαναλωθῇ. τοιοῦτό τι[4] σεισμῶν αἴτιον γίνεται καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ· ἅπασα γὰρ ὑπόνομος οὖσα μεγάλαις καὶ συνεχέσι τάφροις, δι' ὧν ὀχετεύεται τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πολλὰς ἀναπνοὰς στομάτων δίκην[5] ἔχουσα, διὰ τούτων ἀνίησι τὸ κατακλεισθὲν πνεῦμα ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὃ

[1] *καὶ τὴν κρίσιν* P : om. Suidas, Jacoby ; *κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν* Post, *καὶ ⟨ἀχθεὶς εἰς⟩ τὴν κρίσιν* Kiessling. *κρίσιν* may have been a gloss to *εἰσαγγελίαν*.

of the debt when the time for payment came, as he was very youthful and comely to look upon. He submitted to all the regular tasks which it was usual for slaves to perform for their masters, but was indignant when ordered to put the charms of his body at the disposal of his creditor, and resisted to the utmost. Then, having received many lashes with whips because of this, he rushed out into the Forum, and taking his stand upon a lofty spot where he would have many witnesses to his mistreatment, he related the wanton attempts of the money-lender and displayed the weals raised by the whips. When the people became indignant at this and felt that the matter was deserving of public wrath, the tribunes brought an indictment against the man and he was found guilty of a capital crime. Because of this incident all the Romans who had been enslaved for debt recovered their former freedom by a law ratified at this time.

VI. (10) Demanding that the senate in behalf of those who were in want and in debt . . .

The flesh of freshly slain victims continues to quiver and palpitate until the congenital breath contained in it has forced its way out through the pores and been entirely dissipated. Some such thing is the cause also of earthquakes at Rome ; for the city, since it is undermined with large and continuous channels through which the water is conducted, and since it has many breathing-vents like mouths, shoots up through these vents the breath that is pent up within it. This breath it is which shakes the city and rends

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[2] *ὤφλε* Suidas : *ὤφλημα* P.
[3] *ἕως ἂν* Struve : *ἂν ἕως* Q.
[4] *τοιουτό τι* Struve : *τοῦτο* Q.
[5] *δίκην* added by Capps, *διὰ* by Post.

κραδαίνει τε αὐτὴν καὶ σπαράττει τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ὅταν πολὺ καὶ βίαιον ἐναποληφθὲν[1] εἴργηται. *Ambr.*

[1] Struve : ἐναπολειφθὲν Q.

Φρέγελλα, πόλις Ἰταλίας, ἣ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἦν Ὀπικῶν, ἔπειτα Οὐολούσκων ἐγένετο. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Φρεγελλανός, ὡς Διονύσιος ις΄ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ ἄλλοι πλεῖστοι. *Steph. Byz.*

Μέντυρνα, πόλις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Σαυνιτῶν. Διονύσιος ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Μεντυρναῖος. *Steph. Byz.*

Αἴκαλον, φρούριον τῆς Ἰταλίας. Διονύσιος ις΄ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. *Steph. Byz.*

Ἰάποδες, ἔθνος Κελτικὸν πρὸς τῇ Ἰλλυρίᾳ. Διονύσιος ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ. *Steph. Byz.*

the surface of the ground whenever a large and violent mass of air is intercepted and pent up inside.

Fregellae, a city of Italy which originally belonged to the Opicans and later fell to the Volscians. *Eth.*[1] Fregellanus, as Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xvi., and ever so many others. (*Cf.* Livy viii. 22 f.)

Minturnae, a city of the Samnites in Italy. Dionysius xvi. *Eth.* Minturnensis. (*Cf.* Livy ix. 25, 4.)

Aecalum, a fortress of Italy. Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* xvi.

Iapodes, a Celtic race near Illyria. Dionysius xvi.

[1] For this abbreviation see the note on p. 257.

EXCERPTS
FROM
BOOKS XVII AND XVIII

I. (16, 11) Ὅτι ὁ Σαυνιτικὸς αὖθις ἀνερριπίσθη πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἀρξάμενος. μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἃς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν οἱ Σαυνῖται χρόνον ὀλίγον ἐπισχόντες ἐπὶ Λευκανοὺς ἐστράτευσαν ὁμόρους ὄντας ἐκ παλαιᾶς
2 τινος ὁρμηθέντες[1] ἔχθρας. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεσι πιστεύοντες οἱ Λευκανοὶ τὸν[2] πόλεμον διέφερον· ἐν ἁπάσαις δὲ μειονεκτοῦντες ταῖς μάχαις καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀπολωλεκότες ἤδη χωρία, κινδυνεύοντες δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς ἁπάσης, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βοήθειαν ἠναγκάσθησαν καταφυγεῖν, συνειδότες μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐψευσμένοις ἃς πρότερον ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογίας ἐν αἷς φιλίαν συνέθεντο καὶ συμμαχίαν, οὐκ ἀπογνόντες δὲ συμπείσειν[3] αὐτούς, ἐὰν ἐξ ἁπάσης[4] πόλεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους παῖδας ὁμήρους ἅμα τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀποστείλωσιν· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη.
3 (12) ἀφικομένων γὰρ τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ πολλὰ

[1] ὁρμηθέντες BE : ὁρμηθέντας Z.
[2] τε after τὸν deleted by Sylburg (unless a clause has been lost).
[3] Ursinus : συμπεσεῖν O.
[4] τῆς after ἁπάσης deleted by Sylburg.

EXCERPTS
FROM
BOOKS XVII AND XVIII

I. (16, 11) The Samnite war was once more kindled into flame,[1] beginning from some such cause as the following. After the treaty which the Samnites had made with Rome, they waited a short time and then made an expedition against the Lucanians, who were their neighbours, being moved thereto by some long-standing feud. At first the Lucanians carried on the war relying on their own forces; but getting the worst of it in all the engagements, and having lost many districts already and being in danger of losing all the rest of their land, they were forced to have recourse to the Romans' assistance. They were conscious, to be sure, of having broken the compact they had made with the Romans earlier, in which they had pledged friendship and alliance, but did not despair of persuading them if they should send to them along with their ambassadors the most prominent boys from every city as hostages. And this in fact is what occurred. (12) For when the ambassadors arrived and

[1] For chaps. 1–3 *cf.* Livy x. 11, 11–12, 3.

δεομένων ἥ τε βουλὴ δέχεσθαι τὰ ὅμηρα ἔγνω καὶ τὴν φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Λευκανοὺς συνάψαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσε τὰ ψηφισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς. 4 γενομένων δὲ τῶν συνθηκῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Λευκανῶν ἄνδρας οἱ πρεσβύτατοι Ῥωμαίων καὶ τιμιώτατοι προχειρισθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῶν Σαυνιτῶν σύνοδον, δηλώσοντες[1] αὐτοῖς ὅτι φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίων εἰσὶ Λευκανοί, καὶ τήν τε[2] χώραν ἣν ἔτυχον αὐτῶν ἀφῃρημένοι παρακαλέσοντες[3] ἀποδιδόναι καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι πράττειν ἔργον πολεμίων, ὡς οὐ περιοψομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως τοὺς ἑαυτῆς ἱκέτας ἐξελαυνομένους ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας. *Ursin.*

II. (16, 13) Οἱ δὲ Σαυνῖται τῶν πρέσβεων ἀκούσαντες ἠγανάκτουν τε καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πεποιῆσθαι λέγοντες τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογίας, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα μήτε φίλον ἴδιον ἡγήσασθαι μήτ' ἐχθρὸν ἐὰν μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι κελεύωσιν· ἔπειθ' ὅτι Λευκανοὺς οὐ πρότερον ἐποιήσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι φίλους, ἀλλ' ἔναγχος πολεμίους ἤδη σφῶν ὄντας, πρόφασιν οὔτε δικαίαν οὔτ' εὐσχήμονα κατασκευαζόμενοι τοῦ καταλῦσαι 2 τὰς σπονδάς. ἀποκρινομένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅτι τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὁμολογήσαντας[4] ἔπεσθαι[5] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καταλυσαμένους τὸν πόλεμον ἅπαντα πείθεσθαι[6] δεῖ τοῖς παρειληφόσι τὴν ἀρχήν, καί, εἰ μὴ[7] ποιήσουσι[8] τὰ κελευόμενα ἑκόντες,

[1] Kiessling : δηλώσαντες O. [2] τε Sylburg : τότε O.
[3] Sylburg : παρακαλέσαντες O.
[4] Ursinus : ὁμολογήσαντες O.
[5] ἔπεσθαι O : ἕσεσθαι Ursinus.
[6] Sylburg (from cod. Pacii) : πείσεσθαι O.

made many entreaties, the senate voted to accept the hostages and to join friendship with the Lucanians ; and the popular assembly ratified their vote. Upon the conclusion of the treaty with the emissaries of the Lucanians the oldest and most honoured of the Romans were chosen by the senate and sent as ambassadors to the general council of the Samnites to inform them that the Lucanians were friends and allies of the Romans and to warn them not only to restore the land they had taken away from them but also to commit no further act of hostility, since Rome would not permit her suppliants to be driven out of their own land.

II. (16, 13) The Samnites, having listened to the ambassadors, were indignant and declared in their own defence, first of all, that they had not made the peace on the understanding that they were to count no one as their friend or enemy unless the Romans should bid them to do so ; and again, that the Romans had not previously made the Lucanians their friends, but only just now, when they were already enemies of the Samnites, thereby trumping up an excuse that was neither just nor seemly for setting aside the treaty. When the Romans answered that subjects who had agreed to follow them [1] and had obtained a termination of the war on that condition must obey all orders of those who had assumed the rule over them, and threatened to make war upon

[1] Or, following Ursinus' reading, " those who had agreed to be their subjects."

[7] καὶ εἰ μὴ Sylburg : εἰ καὶ μὴ O.
[8] Sylburg : ποιήσωσι O(?).

3 πολεμήσειν αὐτοῖς ἀπειλούντων, ἀφόρητον ἡγησάμενοι τὴν αὐθάδειαν τῆς πόλεως οἱ Σαυνῖται τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσαν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι παραχρῆμα, αὐτοὶ[1] δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐψηφίσαντο κοινῇ τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις εὐτρεπίζεσθαι. *Ursin.*

III. (16, 14) Ἡ μὲν δὴ φανερὰ τοῦ Σαυνιτικοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐπρεπὴς λέγεσθαι ἡ Λευκανῶν ἐγένετο βοήθεια τῶν καταφυγόντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὡς κοινόν δή τι τοῦτο καὶ πάτριον ὂν[2] ἔθος τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ καταφεύγουσιν[3] ἐπ' αὐτὴν βοηθεῖν· ἡ δ' ἀφανὴς καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζουσα διαλύεσθαι τὴν[4] φιλίαν ἡ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν ἰσχὺς πολλή τ' ἤδη γεγονυῖα καὶ ἔτι πλείων[5] γενήσεσθαι νομιζομένη, εἰ[6] Λευκανῶν τε χειρωθέντων καὶ δι' αὐτοὺς τῶν προσοίκων ἀκολουθήσειν ἔμελλε τὰ[7] βαρβαρικὰ ἔθνη τὰ προσεχῆ τούτοις. αἵ τε δὴ σπονδαὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν εὐθὺς ἐλέλυντο, καὶ στρατιαὶ δύο κατεγράφοντο. *Ursin.*

IV. (16, 15) Ὅτι Ποστόμιος ὁ ὕπατος τῆς διαδοχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγισάσης μέγα φρονῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς τ' ἀξιώσεως[8] τοῦ γένους ἕνεκα καὶ ὅτι διτταῖς
2 ὑπατείαις ἤδη κεκοσμημένος ἦν. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ συνύπατος αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὡς ἀπελαυνόμενος τῶν ἴσων ἠγανάκτει καὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ δίκαια πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, ὕστερον δὲ συγγνοὺς

[1] αὐτὸς V. [2] ὂν added by Steph.[2]
[3] Ursinus : καταφεύγοντας O.
[4] τὴν added by Kiessling.
[5] ἔτι πλείων Sylburg : ἐπὶ πλείω or ἐπὶ πλεῖον MSS.
[6] εἰ added by Reiske.
[7] τὰ Steph.[2] : τά τε O, καὶ τὰ Sylburg.
[8] τῆς τ' ἀξιώσεως Valesius : τῆς τάξεως P.

λην[1] δύναμιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατέχειν ἔγνω καὶ μήτε ἀνακαλεῖν μήτε κινεῖν τὴν φάλαγγα, τοὺς δ'[2] ἐλέφαντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους
4 ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀποστέλλει βοηθοὺς τῷ χάρακι. ἔτι δὲ τούτων πορευομένων ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς ἄφνω[3] ὁ χάραξ ἀνάπτεται.

Καὶ οἱ διαπραξάμενοι τὸ ἔργον, ὡς ἔμαθον ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων ἐπιόντας σφίσι τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένους, εἰς ὄρους τινὸς κορυφὴν ἔφυγον,[4] ἔνθα οὔτε τοῖς θηρίοις ἀνελθεῖν ῥᾴδιον ἦν
5 οὔτε τοῖς ἵπποις. οἱ δὲ[5] βασιλικοὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς βοηθείας ὑστερήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ τετάρτου τάγματος Ῥωμαίους ἐτράποντο πολὺ προεληλυθότας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτε τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς πολεμίους ἐτρέψαντο. προϊδόντες δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἔφοδον εἰς ὑψηλόν τι καὶ λάσιον χωρίον ἀναδραμόντες εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο.
6 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐλέφαντες οὐ δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὄχθον[6] ἀναβαίνειν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἠδίκουν, οὐδὲ αἱ τῶν ἱππέων ἴλαι, οἱ δὲ τοξόται καὶ[7] σφενδονῆται βάλλοντες πανταχόθεν κατετίτρωσκόν τε καὶ διέφθειρον ἐξ αὐτῶν συχνούς. αἰσθήσεως δὲ γενομένης τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐκεῖ πραττομένων Πύρρος μὲν ἐκ τῆς πεζικῆς[8] φάλαγγος Ἀθαμᾶνάς τε καὶ

[1] γὰρ before ἄλλην deleted by Dübner.
[2] δ' added by Müller.
[3] ἄφνω Minas : ὑφὸ A.
[4] ἔφυγον added by Dübner.
[5] οἱ δὲ Müller : οὐδὲ A.
[6] ὄχθον Kiessling, λόφον Minas : ὄχλον A.
[7] καὶ added by Müller.
[8] πεζικῆς Dübner : πιστικῆς A, ἀσπιστικῆς Minas, Jacoby.

[1] The reading here is conjectural. The MS. has " from

hand, decided to keep the rest of his forces in the plain and not to recall or disturb the phalanx, but sent the elephants and the boldest of the horse, carefully selected, as reinforcements for the camp. But while these were still on the way, the camp was suddenly taken and set on fire.

Those who had accomplished this feat, upon learning that the troops sent by the king were coming down from the heights against them, fled to the summit of a hill which could not easily be ascended by either the beasts or the horses. The king's troops, having arrived too late to be of assistance, turned against the Romans of the third and fourth legions, who had advanced far ahead of the others after routing the foes who faced them. But the Romans, becoming aware in advance of their approach, ran up to a lofty and thickly-wooded spot and arrayed themselves in battle order. The elephants, accordingly, being unable to ascend the height, caused them no harm, nor did the squadrons of horse ; but the bowmen and slingers, hurling their missiles from all sides, wounded and destroyed many of them. When the commanders became aware of what was going on there, Pyrrhus sent, from his line of infantry,[1] the Athama-

his trusted line (or phalanx)," the adjective being corrupted. Dübner suggested " infantry " for the missing word, while Minas proposed an adjective, not found elsewhere, derived from *aspis* (shield). But in the two passages in chapter 1 where this part of Pyrrhus' line is mentioned nothing is said about shields except in the single case of the Samnites, who are called *θυρεαφόροι* (" armed with oblong shields "), presumably to distinguish them from the troops armed with the more common *aspis* (the round shield). The contrast in the present passage is probably between the infantry sent as reinforcements by Pyrrhus and the cavalry sent by the Roman consul.

Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν τινας ἀποστέλλει, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἴλας τινὰς ἱππέων, ἐπειδὴ τοιαύτης ἔδει τοῖς πεζοῖς συμμαχίας. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν[1] χρόνον ἑτέρα πάλιν ἐκεῖ γίνεται μάχη πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων, καὶ φόνος ἔτι πλείων.[2]

7 Ἀρξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀνεκάλουν περὶ καταφορὰν ὄντος τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ διαβιβάσαντες τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸν χάρακα συσκοτάζοντος[3] ἤδη. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Πύρρου δύναμις ἀπολωλεκυῖα σκηνάς τε καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν ἐπὶ μετεώρου τινὸς χώρου παρενέβαλεν, ἔνθα τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὑπαίθριος, ἀσκευής, ἀθεράπευτος, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀναγκαίας εὐπορουῦσα τροφῆς, ὥστε καὶ διαφθαρῆναι συχνοὺς τραυματίας, οἷς ἐνῆν ἔτι σώζεσθαι βοηθείας τε καὶ κηδεμονίας μεταλαβοῦσιν. τοιούτου τέλους ἔτυχεν ἡ δευτέρα μάχη Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Πύρρον περὶ πόλιν Ἄσκλον. *Ath.*

IV. Ὅτι περὶ τὴν Ῥηγίνων πόλιν πάθος γίγνεται δεινὸν οἷον καὶ περὶ Μεσσήνην[4] ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, μεγάλης φυλακῆς καὶ προνοίας ἄξιον ἁπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν· ἀνάγκη δὲ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις τῶν κατασχόντων αὐτὴν κακῶν

2 προειπεῖν. ὅτε Λευκανοὶ καὶ Βρέττιοι δυνάμεσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ Θουρίους στρατεύσαντες τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξεπόρθησαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιχαρακώσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν, ἐφ' οὓς ἀπεστάλη Ῥωμαίων δύναμις ἧς ἡγεῖτο Φαβρίκιος ὁ ὕπατος, φοβηθέντες οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς οἱ βάρβαροι Ῥωμαίων

[1] αὐτὸν added by Wescher. [2] πλείω Λ.
[3] Cobet : συσκιάζοντος Λ.

nians and Acarnanians and some of the Samnites, while the Roman consul sent some squadrons of horse, since the foot needed such assistance. And at this same time a fresh battle took place there between the foot and horse and there was still greater slaughter.

Following the king's lead, the Roman consuls also recalled their troops when it was near sunset, and taking them across the river led them back to their camp as darkness was already coming on. The forces of Pyrrhus, having lost their tents, pack-animals and slaves, and all their baggage, encamped upon a height, where they spent the following night under the open sky, without either baggage or attendance and not well supplied with even the necessary food, so that many wounded men actually perished, when they might still have been saved had they received assistance and care. Such was the outcome of the second battle between the Romans and Pyrrhus, near the town of Asculum.

IV. Rhegium suffered a calamity similar to that which had befallen Messana in Sicily, a calamity that illustrates the need of great precaution and forethought on the part of all cities. But it is necessary to state first the causes and excuses for the evils that befell this city. When the Lucanians and Bruttians, having set out with numerous forces against Thurii, had ravaged its territory and were besieging the city after surrounding it with a palisade, and a force of Romans under the command of Fabricius the consul had been sent against them, the Rhegians, fearing that the barbarians would send an army against them

[4] *μεσήνην* S (and similarly below, except at end of § 8).

ἀπελθόντων[1] στρατιὰν ἀποστείλωσι, καὶ τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἐν ὑποψίαις ἔχοντες, ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ Φαβρικίου δύναμιν τῇ πόλει λιπεῖν πρὸς τὰς αἰφνιδίους τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομὰς καὶ εἴ τις[2] ἐκ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἐπιβουλὴ σφισιν ἀπροσδόκητος γένοιτο· καὶ λαμβάνουσι Καμπανοὺς μὲν ὀκτακοσίους, Σιδικίνους[3] δὲ τετρακοσίους, ὧν ἁπάντων
3 ἡγεῖτο Δέκιος Καμπανὸς τὸ γένος. οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ, ὅτε κατάγοιτο παρὰ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἑστιάσεις τε[4] λαμπρὰς κατὰ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην τῶν ξένων ἑστιώμενος καὶ[5] κατασκευὰς οἰκιῶν λαμπρὰς καὶ βαθυπλούτους παρὰ πολλοῖς ὁρῶν κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐμακάριζε τοὺς Ῥηγίνους τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἔπειθ' ὡς· ἀναξίοις[6] ἐφθόνει, τελευτῶν δὲ ὡς πολεμίοις ἐπιβουλεύειν ἤρξατο.
4 καὶ προσλαβὼν κοινωνὸν[7] τῶν ἀπορρήτων βουλευμάτων τὸν γραμματέα, πανοῦργον ἄνδρα καὶ πάσης πονηρίας ἀρχιτέκτονα, †πρὸς αὐτοῦ[8] πάντας Ῥηγίνους ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτῶν τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς κατασχεῖν, τὴν δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις διελεῖν, λέγοντος ὅτι[9] Μεσσήνην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἷλον[10] . . . ὑφ' οὗ πεισθεὶς καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσάμενος, τοὺς ταγματάρχας[11] καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκάλεσεν· δεηθεὶς δὲ ἁπάντων

[1] Müller : *ἀπελυθόντων* S, *ἀπεληλυθότων* Feder.
[2] *εἴ τις* Müller : *ἤτις* S.
[3] Feder : *σικινοῦς* S : *Σιτικινοὺς* Müller.
[4] *τε* deleted by Kiessling.
[5] *καὶ* added by Feder.
[6] *ἀναξίοις* Edd. : *ἀξίους* S.
[7] Edd. : *κοινωνοὺς* S.
[8] *πρὸς αὐτοῦ* S : *προὐκαλεῖτο πρὸς αὐτοῦ* Post, *παραινοῦντος αὐτοῦ* Müller.
[9] *ὅτι καὶ* Müller.

also upon the departure of the Romans, and being suspicious of the city of Tarentum, begged Fabricius to leave a force in the city to guard against the sudden raids of the barbarians, and also in case there should be any unexpected hostile plot on the part of the Tarentines. And they received eight hundred Campanians and four hundred Sidicini, all under the command of Decius, a Campanian by birth. This man, whenever he was lodged in the houses of the most prominent of the inhabitants, was entertained at splendid banquets in accordance with the hospitality due to guests ; and when he beheld the splendid and costly appointments of many of the houses, he at first congratulated the Rhegians because of their prosperity, then envied them as being unworthy of it, and finally began to plot against them as enemies. And taking as an accomplice of his secret designs his secretary, a crafty man and a deviser of every kind of mischief, he was advised [1] by him to slay all the Rhégians and to seize their wealth, partly for himself and partly to distribute among his troops ; for the man remarked that Messana had been taken [in similar fashion by the Mamertines] a short time before.[2] When he had been persuaded by him and had planned with him the manner of attack, he called to a council the tribunes and the most prominent soldiers ; and after

[1] This verb is wanting in the MS.

[2] The text is corrupt at this point ; the words in brackets are supplied by conjecture.

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[10] ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶλον Müller : ὀλίγῳ πρότειχον S ; ὀλίγοι προῖχ' εἶλον Post, ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ⟨ὁμοίῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ καταλαβόντες οἱ Μαμερτῖνοι⟩ ἔσχον Feder.

[11] Edd. : γραμματάρχας S.

ἀπορρήτους φυλάξαι τοὺς λόγους κίνδυνον ἔφη μέγαν αὐτῷ ἐπικρεμασθῆναι[1] πολλῆς πάνυ φυλακῆς καὶ ταχείας δεόμενον, ὡς τοῦ καιροῦ μὴ διδόντος ἀναστροφήν. πεπυσμένους γὰρ τὴν Πύρρου διάβασιν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Ῥηγίνων κρύφα διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπισχνουμένους κατασφάξειν τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ παραδώσειν ἐκείνῳ τὴν πόλιν. ἔτι ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ παρῆν τις ἐγκάθετος, αὐχμηρὸς ὡς[2] ἐξ ὁδοῦ, γράμματα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δεκίου κατεσκευασμένα κομίζων, ὡς παρὰ ξένου δή τινος ἰδίου, ἐν οἷς ἐδηλοῦτο μέλλων[3] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον πεντακοσίους[4] στρατιώτας ὡς καταληψομένους τὴν πόλιν, ἀνοίξειν ὑπεσχημένων αὐτοῖς Ῥηγίνων τὰς πύλας. τινὲς μὲν λέγουσι τὸν γραμματηφόρον ὑπὸ Φαβρικίου τοῦ ὑπάτου κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπεστάλθαι, τὴν δ' ἐπιστολὴν ταῦτα περιέχειν ἃ μικρῷ πρότερον ἔφην, καὶ παραινεῖν Δεκίῳ φθάσαι[5] τοὺς Ῥηγίνους· ἔχει δὲ λόγον ἀμφότερα. ἔδειξε δὴ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παροῦσι· καὶ ἐπεὶ τάχιστα νὺξ ἐγένετο, φράσαντες οἱ ταγματάρχαι τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις ἃ διενοοῦντο πράττειν, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν Ῥηγίνων ἐχώρουν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐωχουμένους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κοιμωμένους καταλαβόντες ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κατασφάττουσιν ἐφεστίοις ἀντιβολοῦντας καὶ γόνασι προσκυλιομένους καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου ταῦτα πάσχουσι μαθεῖν ἀξιοῦντας, οὔτε ἡλικίας οὔτε τύχης οὐδεμιᾶς φειδόμενοι. φονεύσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔτι δεινότερον ἔργον ἐξειργάσαντο· τάς τε γὰρ[6] γυναῖκας τῶν ἰδίων ξένων καὶ τὰς παρθένους

[1] Feder : ἐπικρεμασθέντα S. [2] Edd. : ὃς S.
[3] μέλλων Q : μέλλειν S.

requesting them all to keep his remarks secret, he said that a grave danger overhung him, one that required very great and prompt precautions, since the occasion, he declared, did not permit of delay. For the most prominent Rhegians, he said, having learned of Pyrrhus' crossing, were secretly sending to him, promising to put the garrison to the sword and to hand over the city to him. While he was still uttering these words, a man who had been suborned for the purpose appeared, covered with dust as if from a journey and bearing a letter, composed by Decius himself but purporting to be from a personal friend of his, in which it was revealed that the king was intending to send five hundred soldiers to Rhegium to take over the city, the inhabitants having promised to open their gates to them. Some state that the bearer of the letter had been sent in haste by Fabricius the consul, and that the letter contained the information which I have just given and urged Decius to forestall the Rhegians. Both reports are reasonable. These things he revealed to those who were present at the council ; and as soon as it was night, the tribunes, having first told the other soldiers what they were intending to do, went to the houses of the Rhegians, and finding some of them still feasting and others asleep, they slew them at their own firesides, though the Rhegians entreated them and grovelled at their feet and demanded to know why they were thus treated ; and they spared neither age nor rank. After slaughtering the men they committed a still more outrageous crime : portioning out the wives and virgin daughters of their

[4] *πεντακισχιλίους* Q. [5] Feder : *φθάσειν* S.
[6] *γὰρ* added by Feder.

διελόμενοι συνῆσαν ἀκούσαις ὧν τοὺς πατέρας
8 καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπέκτειναν. Δέκιος
δὲ ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἐγεγόνει τῆς Ῥηγίνων πόλεως· καὶ λογιζόμενος ὅτι δώσει Ῥωμαίοις
ὧν ἔδρασε δίκας, Καμπανοῖς τοῖς κατέχουσι
Μεσσήνην συμμαχίαν τίθεται μεγίστην ἰσχὺν τῶν
ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεων ἔχουσι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ
πολλῆς εἶχε φυλακῆς. *Esc.*; (p. 404, l. 8–p. 406,
l. 2) *Ambr.*

V. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ῥηγίνους πάθη παρὰ τῶν διαφυγόντων τὸν ὄλεθρον
οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀναμείνασα χρόνον ἀποστέλλει
στρατιὰν νεοσύλλεκτον ἄγοντα ἑτέραν τὸν κατὰ
2 πόλιν στρατηγόν.[1] φθάσασα δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἄφιξιν ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόνοια τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς
φρουρᾶς Δέκιον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνοσίων βουλευμάτων εἰς
τὰ κυριώτατα τοῦ ζῆν ἐτιμωρήσατο μέρη, νόσον
εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμβαλοῦσα δεινὰς περιωδυνίας
φέρουσαν[2]· ἣν ἰάσασθαι προθυμούμενος ἄνθρωπος[3]
ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἰατρὸν μεταπέμπεται, Δεξικράτην
ὄνομα, πυνθανόμενος ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν
αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἰατρῶν, ἀγνοῶν δὲ ὅτι Ῥηγῖνος ἦν
τὸ γένος· ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον ἐναλείφει
τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καυστικῷ φαρμάκῳ καὶ
διακελευσάμενος ἀνέχεσθαι τὰς περιωδυνίας ἕως
ἂν ἀφίκηται, καταβὰς ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς τὸ παρεσκευασμένον πορθμεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι
3 τινὰ τὸ πραχθὲν εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀπέπλευσεν. Δέκιος
δὲ μέχρι μέν τινος ἐκκαιομένης τῆς ὁράσεως
ἀλγηδόνας τε δεινὰς ὑπομένων ἠνείχετο τὸν ἰατρὸν

[1] ἕτερον τῶν κατὰ πόλιν στρατηγῶν Edd.
[2] περιοδίνας φερούσας S. [3] Feder, Kiessling : ἄνθρωπον S.

hosts, they forcibly lay with these women whose fathers and husbands they had slain before their very eyes. Decius from the commander of a garrison had thus become a tyrant of Rhegium ; and reasoning that he would have to pay the penalty to the Romans for what he had done, he made an alliance with the Campanians who were in possession of Messana, the most powerful of the cities in Sicily, meanwhile keeping the city of Rhegium under strict guard.

V. The senate, upon learning from those who had escaped destruction the calamity that had befallen the Rhegians, did not delay for even a moment, but sent out the general in the city at the head of another army which had just been enrolled. Forestalling the arrival of the Romans, however, Divine Providence took vengeance upon Decius, the commander of the garrison, for his impious schemes by punishing him in the most vital parts of his body, inflicting upon his eyes a malady that caused excruciating pains. In his anxiety to cure this malady he sent for a physician from Messana, Dexicrates by name, learning by inquiry that he was the best of the physicians of the day, but unaware that he was a Rhegian by birth. This man, having come to Rhegium, anointed his eyes with a caustic remedy and bade him endure the pains until he himself should return ; then, going down to the sea, he boarded the ferry-boat that had been got ready for him and, before anyone was aware of his action, sailed back to Messana. For a time Decius, although suffering dreadful pains while his sight was being burned out, nevertheless endured it, while

προσδεχόμενος, ὡς δὲ πολὺς ἐγίνετο χρόνος[1] καὶ τὰς περιωδυνίας ἀδύνατος ἦν ἔτι φέρειν, σπογγίσας τὸ φάρμακον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίξας ἔγνω τὰς ὄψεις ἐκκεκαυμένος[2]· καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον διέμεινε τυφλός· ἡμέρας τε ὀλίγας ἔτι περιενέγκας ὑποχείριος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γίνεται συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ
4 τῶν ἰδίων. ταύτην γὰρ οἰόμενοί τινες ἀπολογίαν[3] τήν τε πόλιν ἀνέῳξαν τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τὸν Δέκιον δήσαντες παρέδοσαν Φαβρικίῳ. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς περιοῦσι Ῥηγίνων, τοὺς δὲ φρουροὺς ἅπαντα καταλιπεῖν αὐτόθι κελεύσας ἀπήγαγεν οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένους ἔξω τῶν
5 ὅπλων· ἐξ ὧν τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὓς ἀπέφαινον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνοσίων βουλευμάτων εἶναι κοινωνούς, δεσμίους εἰς Ῥώμην ἤγαγεν· οὓς ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενοι, ὡς ἦν πάτριον ἐπὶ τοῖς κακούργοις κείμενον, ἀπέκτειναν τῷ πελέκει τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποκοπέντας, ἐκτὸς Δεκίου καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως· οὗτοι δὲ παρακρουσάμενοι τοὺς φυλάττοντας ἢ χρήμασιν ὠνησάμενοι τὸ μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἀποθανεῖν ἑαυτοὺς διεχειρίσαντο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις. *Esc.*; (p. 406, ll. 16-20) *Ambr.*

VI. (19, 2) Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πύρρος τοὺς Ὁμηρικοὺς ἐπιφθεγξάμενος στίχους, οὓς[4] Ἕκτωρ αὐτῷ πεποίηται πρὸς Αἴαντα λέγων, ὡς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰρημένους πρὸς ἑαυτόν·

Τῷ σε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλω βαλέειν, τοιοῦτον ἐόντα,
λάθρῃ ὀπιπτεύσας, ἀλλ' ἀμφαδόν, αἴ κε τύχοιμι.

[1] χρόνος S : ὁ χρόνος Feder, Jacoby.
[2] ἐκκεκαυμένας Müller.
[3] Φαβρικίου after ἀπολογίαν deleted by Kiessling, following

waiting for the physician ; but when much time had passed and he was unable longer to endure the excruciating pains, he wiped off the ointment and, opening his eyes, realized that the orbs had been burned out, and from that time he continued to be blind. After holding out for a few days he fell into the hands of the Romans, having been arrested by his own men ; for some, believing this was the way to clear themselves, opened their city to the general and delivered up Decius in chains to Fabricius. The latter restored the city to the Rhegians who survived, and ordering the guards to leave everything where it was, he led them away carrying nothing but their arms ; then, choosing out the most prominent of their number, those whom the others declared to be accomplices in the nefarious plot, he brought them in chains to Rome. There, after being scourged with whips in the Forum, as was the established usage in the case of malefactors, the prisoners were put to death by having their heads cut off with an axe—all except Decius and the secretary, who, having outwitted their guards or bribed them with money to permit them to escape an ignominious death, made away with themselves. So much on this subject.

VI. (19, 2) Pyrrhus himself, having uttered the Homeric lines which Hector is represented by the poet as speaking to Ajax, as if they had been addressed by the Romans to himself,

I would not smite thee, then, who art so brave,
By stealth, but openly, if so I may.[1]

[1] *Iliad* vii. 242 f., quoted carelessly.

Feder ; Feder also thought of reading παρὰ (or πρὸς) Φαβρικίου. [4] Mai : ὃς Q.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ὅτι κινδυνεύει πονηρὰν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁσιωτέρους Ἑλλήνων καὶ δικαιοτέρους,[1] μίαν ἔφη θεωρεῖν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου καλὴν καὶ συμφέρουσαν, εἰ φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων αὐτοὺς ποιήσαιτο, φιλανθρωπίας τινὸς μεγάλης καταρξάμενος.

2 (3) Προαχθῆναι δὲ κελεύσας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους καὶ δοὺς ἅπασιν ἐσθῆτας ἐλευθέροις πρεπούσας σώμασι καὶ ἐνοδίους[2] δαπάνας, παρεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς μεμνῆσθαι οἷος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λέγειν, ὅταν δ' εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔλθωσι πατρίδας, πάσῃ[3] προθυμίᾳ πράττειν ὅπως φίλους ποιήσουσι τὰς πόλεις.

3 Ἅμαχον δή τινα ἰσχὺν τὸ βασιλικὸν ἔχει χρυσίον, καὶ οὐδεμία εὕρηται πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ βέλος ἀνθρώποις φυλακή. *Ambr.*

VII. (19, 4) Ὅτι Κλεινίας ὁ Κροτωνιάτης τύραννος ὢν ἀφείλετο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὰς πόλεις,[4] φυγάδας ἀθροίσας ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ δούλους ἐλευθερώσας· οἷς τὴν τυραννίδα κρατυνάμενος τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Κροτωνιατῶν οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὓς δὲ ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ἀναξίλας δὲ Ῥηγίνων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατελάβετο καὶ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον κατασχὼν Λεόφρονι τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέλιπε.[5] καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπὸ[6] τούτων δυναστείας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατασκευάσαντες πάντα τὰ

2 πράγματα διέφθειραν. (5) ἡ δὲ τελευταία τε καὶ

[1] ὁσιωτέρους . . . δικαιοτέρους Struve : ὁσιωτάτους . . . δικαιοτάτους Q.
[2] ἐνοδίους Mai : ἐν ὁδίνους Q. [3] Mai : πᾶσι Q.
[4] τὰς πόλεις Reiske : ταῖς πόλεσι P.
[5] Reiske : κατέλειπε P. [6] ἀπὸ added by Valesius.

and afterwards declaring that he had probably been wrong in planning his war against people who were more pious than the Greeks and more just,[1] said he saw only one honourable and advantageous way of ending the war, and that was to make friends of them instead of enemies, beginning with some great act of kindness.

(3) After ordering the Roman prisoners to be brought forward and giving to all of them raiment befitting free persons and expense money for the journey, he bade them remember how he had treated them and to tell all the others, and when they should come to their own cities, to strive with all zeal to make those cities friendly to him.

A certain irresistible might, indeed, has the gold of a king, and no defence has been found by mortals against this weapon.

VII. (19, 4) Cleinias of Croton, when he was tyrant, took away from the cities their freedom after he had gathered together fugitives from every quarter and freed the slaves ; and having strengthened his tyranny with their aid, he either slew or expelled from the city the most prominent of the Crotoniats. Anaxilas seized the acropolis of the Rhegians and, after holding it as long as he lived, handed down the rule to Leophron, his son. Others too, following their example, founded dynasties in the various cities and thus brought everything to ruin. (5) But the final

[1] " More pious than . . . and more just " is Struve's conjecture; the MS. has " most pious and just of the Greeks."

πασῶν μεγίστη κάκωσις ἁπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ Διονυσίου τυραννὶς ἐγένετο τοῦ κρατήσαντος Σικελίας. διέβη γὰρ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ Ῥηγίνους Λοκρῶν ἐπικαλεσαμένων, οἷς ἦσαν οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι διάφοροι· καὶ συνελθόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἰταλιωτῶν δυνάμεσι μεγάλαις συνάψας μάχην ἀπέκτεινε συχνοὺς καὶ πόλεις αὐτῶν δύο κατὰ κράτος ἐξεῖλεν. 3 εἶτ' αὖθις ἑτέραν ποιησάμενος διάβασιν Ἱππωνιεῖς ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οὓς ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Σικελίαν, καὶ Κροτωνιάτας ἐξεῖλε καὶ Ῥηγίνους καὶ διετέλεσεν ἔτη δώδεκα τούτων τυραννῶν τῶν πόλεων. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν τὸν τύραννον δεδιότες τοῖς βαρβάροις αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείριζον, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνων πολεμούμενοι τῷ τυράννῳ τὰς πόλεις παρεδίδοσαν· ὑφ' ὅτου δὲ πάσχοιεν, ἀεὶ κακῶς δυσχεραίνοντες εὑρίπου δίκην τῇδε καὶ τῇδε πρὸς τὸ συντυχὸν ἐτράποντο. *Vales.*

VIII. (19, 6) Ὅτι Πύρρος διέβη τὸ δεύτερον εἰς Ἰταλίαν οὐ χωρούντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πραγμάτων κατὰ νοῦν διὰ τὸ μὴ βασιλικὴν φανῆναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικήν. εἰσαχθεὶς γὰρ εἰς Συρακούσας ὑπό τε Σωσιστράτου τοῦ κρατοῦντος τῆς πόλεως τότε καὶ Θοίνωνος τοῦ φρουράρχου, παραλαβὼν παρ' ἐκείνων τὰ[1] χρήματα καὶ ναῦς χαλκεμβόλους ὁμοῦ τι διακοσίας καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος Σικελίαν πλὴν Λιλυβαίου πό-

[1] τὰ om. Suidas.

[1] Or, specifically, the Euripus. This Greek word meant a strait through which there was a strong flux and reflux.

and worst mischief of all that came to any of the cities was the tyranny of Dionysius, who had mastered Sicily. For he crossed into Italy against the Rhegians at the summons of the Locrians, with whom the Rhegians were at odds ; and when the Italiots united against him with large forces, he joined battle, slew many and took by storm two of their cities. Then making another crossing later on, he removed the people of Hipponium from their native land, taking them to Sicily ; and capturing Croton and Rhegium, he continued to lord it over those cities for twelve years. Then some, who stood in dread of the tyrant, entrusted themselves to the barbarians, while others, who were being warred upon by the barbarians, handed over their cities to the tyrant ; and no matter at whose hands they were suffering, they were always wretched and discontented, so that, like a euripus,[1] they veered this way and that according to the fortunes that befell them.

VIII. (19, 6) Pyrrhus crossed for the second time into Italy, since matters were not going to his liking in Sicily, inasmuch as it had become evident to the chief cities that his leadership was not that of a king but of a despot. For after he had been brought into Syracuse by Sosistratus, the ruler of the city at that time, and by Thoenon, the commander of the garrison, and had received from them the money in the treasury [2] and some two hundred bronze-beaked ships, and after he had brought under his power all Sicily with the exception of the city of Lilybaeum, the one city

[1] It was applied especially to the strait between Euboea and Boeotia, where the current changes direction several times a day.

[2] The MS. used by Valesius has simply "the moneys," the MSS. of Suidas "moneys" only.

λεως, ἣν ἔτι μόνην Καρχηδόνιοι κατεῖχον, εἰς αὐθάδειαν τυραννικὴν ἐτρέπετο. *Vales.*; *Suidas s.v.* Πύρρος.

(7) Τάς τε γὰρ οὐσίας τῶν Ἀγαθοκλέους οἰκείων ἢ φίλων ἀφαιρούμενος τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου λαβόντας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπασπισταῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς προσένεμεν,[1] οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἑκάστης πόλεως νόμους οὐδ' εἰς τὸν εἰωθότα
2 χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτῷ φίλον ἦν. δίκας τε καὶ ἀμφισβητήσεις καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτικὰς οἰκονομίας ἁπάσας τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς διῄτα, τὰς δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀναστρέφειν καὶ[2] διακρίνειν ἀπεδίδου, ἀνθρώποις οὐθὲν ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν[3] ὅ τι μὴ κερδαίνειν καὶ καθηδυπαθεῖν τὰς εὐπορίας· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάντα βαρὺς ταῖς ὑποδεξαμέναις πόλεσι καὶ[4] μισητὸς ἦν.
3 (8) αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὑπούλως ἤδη πολλοὺς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχοντας εἴς τε τὰς πόλεις φρουρὰς εἰσῆγε, πρόφασιν ποιούμενος τὸν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμον, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως συλλαμβάνων ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ προδοσίας εὑρηκέναι ψευσάμενος. ἐν οἷς ἦν[5] καὶ Θοίνων ὁ φρούραρχος,[6] ὃς ὑπὸ πάντων ὡμολόγητο πλείστην σπουδὴν καὶ προθυμίαν εἴς τε τὴν διάβασιν αὐτῷ[7] καὶ τὴν παράληψιν τῆς νήσου παρεσχῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ναυτικὸν στόλον ἄγων καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις νῆσον, ἣν
4 αὐτὸς ἐκράτει, παρέσχεν. ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ καὶ Σωσίστρατον συλλαβεῖν διήμαρτε τῆς ἐλπίδος

[1] προσένεμεν P : προσένειμεν Valesius.
[2] καὶ P : ἢ Capps.
[3] ἢ after ὁρῶσιν deleted by Reiske.

which the Carthaginians still held, he assumed the arrogance of a tyrant.

(7) For Pyrrhus took away the estates of Agathocles' relatives and friends from those who had received them at that ruler's hands and presented them to his own friends, and he assigned the chief magistracies in the cities to his own shield-bearers and captains, not in accordance with the local laws of each city nor for the customary period, but as was pleasing to him. Lawsuits and controversies and all the other matters of civil administration he would in some cases decide himself and in other cases would refer them either for reversal or for determination to those who hung about the court, men who had an eye for nothing except making gains and squandering wealth in the pursuit of luxury. Because of all this he was burdensome to the cities which had received him and was hated by them. (8) Perceiving that many people were already secretly hostile to him, he introduced garrisons into the cities, taking as an excuse the war threatening from the Carthaginians ; and arresting the most prominent men in each city, he put them to death, falsely alleging that he had discovered plots and treasonable acts. Among these was Thoenon, the commander of the garrison, who was admitted by all to have shown the greatest ardour and zeal in aiding him to cross over and take possession of the island ; for he had gone to meet him at the head of a naval squadron and had turned over to him the Island at Syracuse, of which he himself had the command. When, however, Pyrrhus attempted to arrest Sosistratus also, he was disappointed ; for the man had

[4] *καὶ* added by Reiske. [5] *ἦν* P : om. Valesius.
[6] Valesius : *φύλαρχος* P. [7] Valesius(?) : *αὐτῶν* P.

προαισθομένου τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ φυγόντος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἀρξαμένων δὲ ταράττεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων[1] καὶ ἡ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πόλις καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἰληφέναι νομίζουσα πρὸς ἀνάκτησιν τῶν ἀπολωλότων χωρίων στρατιὰν ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον. *Vales.*

IX. (19, 9) Ὅτι ἀμηχανοῦντα τὸν Πύρρον[2] καὶ πόρους παντοδαποὺς ἐπιζητοῦντα ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν[2] οἱ κάκιστοι καὶ ἀνοσιώτατοι τῶν φίλων, Εὐήγορος Θεοδώρου καὶ Βάλακρος Νικάνδρου καὶ Δείναρχος Νικίου, τῶν ἀθέων καὶ ἐξαγίστων δογμάτων ζηλωταί, πόρον ὑποτίθενται χρημάτων ἀνοσίων,[3] τοὺς
2 ἱεροὺς ἀνοῖξαι τῆς Περσεφόνης θησαυρούς. ἦν γὰρ ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἅγιον καὶ πολὺν χρυσὸν[4] ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεφυλαγμένον ἄθικτον ἔχον, ἐν ᾧ χρυσός τις ἄβυσσος, ἀόρατος τοῖς πολλοῖς κατὰ γῆς κείμενος. ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξαπατηθεὶς τῶν κολάκων καὶ διὰ[5] τὴν ἀνάγκην κρείττονα παντὸς τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις[6] τὴν γνώμην ἀνδράσι διακόνοις τῆς ἱεροσυλίας ἐχρήσατο, καὶ τὸν †ἐξελθόντα[7] χρυσὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναυσὶν ἐνθέμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Τάραντα πολλῆς μεστὸς εὐθυμίας γενόμενος. *Vales.*; *Suidas s.v.* Πύρρος.

(10) Ἡ δὲ δικαία πρόνοια τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν

[1] After *πραγμάτων* P has αὖ (= *αὐτῷ* ?).
[2] Delete either *Πύρρον* or *αὐτόν* (Reiske).
[3] *ἀνόσιον* Reiske.
[4] *χρυσὸν* seems to have replaced some such word as *πλοῦτον*.
[5] διὰ Suidas : om. P.
[6] *τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις* Valesius : *ἡγησάμενος* P, *ἡγησαμένων* Suidas ; *καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην κρείττονα παντὸς ἡγησάμενος* ‹*πράγματος τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις*› Kiessling.

become aware of his intention and had fled from the city. Furthermore, when matters had begun to be unsettled, the city of Carthage also, believing it had found an opportunity suitable for the recovery of the places it had lost, sent an army against the island.

IX. (19, 9) Observing that Pyrrhus was embarrassed and was seeking funds from every possible source, the worst and most depraved of his friends, Euegorus, the son of Theodorus, Balacrus, the son of Nicander, and Deinarchus, the son of Nicias, followers of godless and accursed doctrines, suggested an impious source for the raising of funds, namely, to open up the sacred treasures of Persephonê. For there was a holy temple in this city [1] that contained much wealth,[2] guarded and untouched from the earliest times ; included in this there was an unfathomed quantity of gold, buried in the earth out of sight of the multitude. Pyrrhus, misled by these flatterers and because of his necessity that was stronger than any scruples,[3] employed as his agents in the sacrilege the men who had made the proposal ; and placing the gold plundered from the temple in ships, he sent it along with his other funds to Tarentum, having now become filled with great cheer.

(10) But a just Providence showed its power. For,

[1] The city of Locri.

[2] The MSS. have "gold"; but in view of the statement immediately following it would seem that "gold" has replaced a word of more general meaning.

[3] Or, following Kiessling, "and regarding necessity as stronger than any scruples."

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[7] *ἐξελθόντα* P : om. Suidas; *ἐξαχθέντα* or *ἐξενεχθέντα* Reiske, *ἐξελαθέντα* Jacoby, *συληθέντα* Naber, *ἐκσυληθέντα* Post.

ἀπεδείξατο. ὡς γὰρ ἀνήχθησαν αἱ νῆες ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος, τὴν μὲν ἀπόγειον αὔραν λαβοῦσαι προέκοψαν· ἄνεμος δὲ ἐναντίος γενόμενος καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κατασχὼν ἃς μὲν κατέκλυσεν, ἃς δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς Σικελίας πορθμὸν ἐξέβαλεν, ἐν αἷς δὲ παρεκομίζετο τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ ὁ προσενεχθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθημάτων χρυσὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐξώκειλεν αἰγιαλούς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλέοντας ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν τῇ παλιρροίᾳ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζομένους διέφθειρε, τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ χρήματα διασπασθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔγγιστα τῶν Λοκρῶν θῖνας
2 ἐξέβρασεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καταπλαγεὶς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀπέδωκε τῇ θεῷ ὡς παραιτησόμενος αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦτο[1] τὸν χόλον·

Νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ ᾔδει, ὃ οὐ[2] πείσεσθαι ἔμελλεν·
οὐ γάρ τ' αἶψα θεῶν τρέπεται νόος αἰὲν ἐόντων,

3 ὡς Ὁμήρῳ εἴρηται. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἅψασθαι χρημάτων καὶ πόρον ὑποθέσθαι πολέμων, ἀνόνητον ἐποίησε τὴν ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἵνα παράδειγμα καὶ παίδευμα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γένοιτο τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτόν. *Vales.*; *Suidas s.v. παραιτησόμενος.*

X. (19, 11) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡττήθη ὁ Πύρρος κατὰ κράτος. οὐ γὰρ στρατιά τις φαύλη καὶ ἀνάσκητος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἡ κρατίστη τῶν τότε οὐσῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ πλείστους ἀγωνισαμένη πολέμους, οὐδὲ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τῶν τότε παραταξαμένων ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ὅσον καὶ τριπλάσιον εἶναι, οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων τις, ἀλλ' ὃν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι μέγιστον γενέσθαι τῶν

[1] διὰ τοῦτο Valesius : διὰ τούτων P, δι' αὐτοῦ Suidas.

though the ships, upon putting out from the harbour, found a land breeze and made progress, an adverse wind sprang up, and holding through the entire night, sank some of them, drove others into the Sicilian strait, and, in the case of those in which the offerings and the gold yielded by the offerings was being transported, drove them ashore on the beaches of Locri. The men on board the ships were submerged and perished in the backwash of the waves, and the sacred moneys, when the ships broke up, were cast ashore on the sand-banks nearest to Locri. The king, terror-stricken, restored all the ornaments and treasures to the goddess, hoping thereby to appease her wrath ;

> The fool, nor wist that she would ne'er give ear :
> For not so quickly do the deathless gods
> Their purpose change,[1]

as Homer has said. Nay, since he had dared to lay hands on the sacred moneys and to pledge them as a war fund, the divinity brought his intention to naught, in order that he might serve as an example and lesson to all men who should come after him.

X. (19, 11) It was for this reason that Pyrrhus was defeated by the Romans also in a battle to the finish. For it was no mean or untrained army that he had, but the mightiest of those then in existence among the Greeks and one that had fought a great many wars ; nor was it a small body of men that was then arrayed under him, but even three times as large as his adversary's, nor was its general any chance leader, but rather the man whom all admit to have been the

[1] *Odyssey* iii. 146 f.

[2] οὐ om. P, Suidas.

κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμασάντων στρατηγῶν,
2 οὐδὲ[1] τόπου φύσις ἄνισος οὔτε ἐπικουρίας[2] τοῖς ἑτέροις ἄφιξις[3] αἰφνίδιος οὔτε ἄλλη τις συμφορὰ καὶ πρόφασις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιπεσοῦσα συνέτριψε τὰ Πύρρου πράγματα, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς ἀσεβηθείσης θεᾶς χόλος, ὃν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠγνόει Πύρρος, ὡς Πρόξενος ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπομνήμασι γράφει. *Vales.*

XI. (19, 12) Ἔμελλον ὅπερ εἰκὸς οἱ[4] ὁπλῖται κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι καὶ θυρεοῖς βαρεῖς πρὸς ὀχθηρὰ χωρία καὶ μακρὰς ἀτραποὺς πορευόμενοι καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτας λεωφόρους, ἀλλ' αἰγότριβας δι' ὕλης τε καὶ κρημνῶν, τάξιν τε οὐδεμίαν φυλάξειν καὶ πρὶν ἐπιφανῆναί σφισι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξασθενήσειν τὰ σώματα δίψει καὶ κόπῳ.
2 Τοὺς τοῖς ἱππικοῖς δόρασιν ἐκ διαλαβῆς ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ κρατουμένοις μαχομένους συστάδην καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κατορθοῦντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πρίγκιπας Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. *Ambr.*

XII. (19, 13) Ἐν[5] τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ᾗ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξειν ὁ Πύρρος ἔμελλεν[6] ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιθησόμενος χάρακι λάθρα[7] ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλείους ὀδόντας καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος ἐκ τοῦ στόματος φέρεσθαι.
2 ταραχθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ μεγάλην ἔσεσθαι συμφορὰν μαντευόμενος (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον τοιαύτην ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου θεασαμένῳ δεινή τις συνέβη δυσποτμία[8]) ἐβούλετο μὲν[9] ἐπισχεῖν τὴν

[1] οὐδὲ Valesius : οὔτε P.
[2] Reiske : ἐπικουρία P.
[3] ἡ before ἄφιξις deleted by Reiske.
[4] οἱ added by Struve.
[5] ἐν Q : ἐν γὰρ P.
[6] ἀπάξειν ὁ πύρρος ἔμελλεν Q : ἔμελλεν ἀπάξειν P.
[7] τῷ ῥωμαίων . . . λάθρα om. P.

greatest of all the generals who flourished at that same period ; nor was it any inequality in the position he occupied, nor the sudden arrival of reinforcements for the other side, nor any other mischance or unexpected excuse for failure that ruined the cause of Pyrrhus, but rather the wrath of the goddess whose sanctity had been violated, a wrath of which not even Pyrrhus himself was unaware, as Proxenus the historian relates and as Pyrrhus himself records in his own memoirs.

XI. (19, 12) It was bound to happen, as might have been expected, that hoplites burdened with helmets, breastplates and shields and advancing against hilly positions by long trails that were not even used by people but were mere goat-paths through woods and crags, would keep no order and, even before the enemy came in sight, would be weakened in body by thirst and fatigue.

Those who fight in close combat with cavalry spears grasped by the middle with both hands and who usually save the day in battles are called *principes* by the Romans.

XII. (19, 13) During the night in which Pyrrhus was intending to lead his army against the hill to attack the Roman camp secretly it seemed to him in his dreams that most of his teeth fell out and a quantity of blood poured from his mouth. Disturbed by this vision and divining that some great misfortune would ensue, since he had already on an earlier occasion beheld a similar vision in a dream and some dire disaster had followed, he wished to hold back

[8] ἤδη γὰρ . . . δυσποτμία Q : om. P. [9] μὲν om. P.

ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, οὐκ ἴσχυσε δὲ νικῆσαι τὴν πεπρωμένην, ἐναντιουμένων τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν καὶ μὴ μεθεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀξιούντων. *Vales.*; *Ambr.*

3 (14) Ἀναβάντων δὲ τῶν σὺν τῷ Πύρρῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων αἴσθησιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λαβόντες σκυμνίον ἐλέφαντος τιτρώσκουσιν, ὃ πολλὴν ἀκοσμίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐνεποίησε καὶ φυγήν· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο μὲν ἐλέφαντας ἀποκτείνουσιν, ὀκτὼ δὲ κατακλείσαντες εἰς χωρίον ἀνέξοδον παραδόντων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἰνδῶν ζῶντας παραλαμβάνουσι, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πολὺν φόνον ἐργάζονται. *Ambr.*

XIII. (20, 1) Ὁ ὕπατος Φαβρίκιος τιμητὴς γενόμενος ἄνδρα δυσὶ μὲν ὑπατείαις, μιᾷ δὲ δικτατωρείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Ῥουφῖνον, ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς βουλῆς, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐν ἀργυρῶν ἐκπωμάτων κατασκευῇ πολυτελὴς ἔδοξε γενέσθαι, δέκα λίτρας ἐκπωμάτων κτησάμενος· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν ὀλίγῳ πλείους ὀκτὼ μνῶν Ἀττικῶν. *Ambr.*

2 (2) Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δόξης ἔτυχον ὅτι τοὺς ῥᾳθύμους καὶ ἀργοὺς καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύοντας τῶν χρησίμων ὡς ἀδικοῦντας τὸ κοινὸν ἐζημίουν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὅτι τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις ἐπέτρεπον τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν ὁτῳδήτινι τῶν δημοσίων τόπῳ ταῖς βακτηρίαις παίειν· τῶν δὲ κατ' οἰκίαν γενομένων οὔτε πρόνοιαν οὔτε φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο, τὴν αὔλειον θύραν ἑκάστου ὅρον εἶναι
3 τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ βίου νομίζοντες. (3) Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀναπετάσαντες οἰκίαν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δωματίου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν τιμητῶν[1] προαγαγόντες

that day, but was not strong enough to defeat Fate ; for his friends opposed the delay and demanded that he should not let the favourable opportunity slip from his grasp.

(14) When Pyrrhus and those with him had ascended along with the elephants, and the Romans became aware of it, they wounded an elephant cub, which caused great confusion and flight among the Greeks. The Romans killed two elephants, and hemming eight others in a place that had no outlet, took them alive when the Indian mahouts surrendered them ; and they wrought great slaughter among the soldiers.

XIII. (20, 1) The consul Fabricius, having become censor, expelled from the senatorial body a man who had been honoured with two consulships and one dictatorship, Publius Cornelius Rufinus, because he was believed to have been the first to be extravagant in supplying himself with silver goblets, having acquired ten pounds' weight of them ; this is a little more than eight Attic minae.

(2) The Athenians gained repute because they punished as harmful to the state the indolent and idle who followed no useful pursuits, and the Lacedaemonians because they permitted their oldest men to beat with their canes such of the citizens as were disorderly in any public place whatever ; but for what took place in the homes they took no thought or precaution, holding that each man's house-door marked the boundary within which he was free to live as he pleased. (3) But the Romans, throwing open every house and extending the authority of the censors even to the bed-chamber, made that office

[1] *τοῦ τιμητοῦ* Struve.

ἁπάντων ἐποίησαν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ φύλακα τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς γινομένων, οὔτε δεσπότην οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὠμὸν εἶναι περὶ τὰς[1] τιμωρίας οἰκετῶν οὔτε πατέρα πικρὸν ἢ μαλθακὸν πέρα τοῦ μετρίου περὶ τέκνων ἀγωγὰς οὔτε ἄνδρα περὶ κοινωνίαν γαμετῆς γυναικὸς ἄδικον οὔτε παῖδας γηραιῶν ἀπειθεῖς πατέρων οὔτε ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους τὸ πλεῖον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴσου διώκοντας, οὐ συμπόσια καὶ μέθας παννυχίους, οὐκ ἀσελγείας[2] καὶ φθορὰς ἡλικιωτῶν[3] νέων, οὐχ ἱερῶν ἢ ταφῶν[4] προγονικὰς τιμὰς ἐκλιπούσας, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἢ συμφέρον τῇ πόλει πραττομένων οὐδέν.

Ἐλπίζοντο τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλίζειν αἰτίαν. *Ambr.*

XIV. (20, 4) Νεμέριος Φάβιος Πίκτωρ καὶ Κόιντος Φάβιος[5] Μάξιμος καὶ Κόιντος Ὀγούλνιος[6] πρὸς τὸν Φιλάδελφον Πτολεμαῖον πρεσβεύσαντες[7] καὶ δωρεαῖς ἰδίαις τιμηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (ἦρχε δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν Μακεδόνα Ἀλέξ-
2 ανδρον) ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τά τε ἄλλα ἀπήγγειλαν ὅσα διεπράξαντο κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλαβον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκαν· οὓς ἡ βουλὴ πάντων ἀγασθεῖσα τῶν ἔργων οὐκ εἴασε δημοσιῶσαι τὰς βασιλικὰς χάριτας, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἀπενέγκασθαι τιμὰς ἀρετῆς καὶ κόσμους ἐκγόνοις. *Ambr.*

XV. (20, 5) Οἱ Βρέττιοι ἑκόντες ὑποταγέντες Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ὀρεινῆς παρέδωκαν

[1] Mai : *τῆς* Q.
[2] Struve : *ἀμελείας* Q.
[3] Jacoby : *ἡλικιῶν* Q.
[4] Mai : *ταφρῶν* Q.
[5] Mai : *φάκιος* Q.
[6] Kiessling : *ἀλγούνιος* Q.

the overseer and guardian of everything that took place in the homes ; for they believed that neither a master should be cruel in the punishments meted out to his slaves, nor a father unduly harsh or lenient in the training of his children, nor a husband unjust in his partnership with his lawfully-wedded wife, nor children disobedient toward their aged parents, nor should own brothers strive for more than their equal share, and they thought there should be no banquets and revels lasting all night long, no wantonness and corrupting of youthful comrades, no neglect of the ancestral honours of sacrifices and funerals, nor any other of the things that are done contrary to propriety and the advantage of the state.

They plundered the possessions of the citizens on the ground that they were affecting the ways of a king.

XIV. (20, 4) Numerius Fabius Pictor, Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Ogulnius, who had gone as ambassadors to Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second to rule Egypt after the Macedonian Alexander, and had been honoured by him with individual gifts, upon returning to Rome not only reported all that they had accomplished during their absence, but also turned over to the public treasury the gifts which they had received from the king. But the senate, admiring the men for all their achievements, did not permit them to turn the royal gifts over to the state, but allowed them to take them back to their homes as rewards of merit and decorations for their descendants.

XV. (20, 5) The Bruttians, after submitting willingly to the Romans, delivered up to them one-half

[7] *περὶ πρεσβείας* after *πρεσβεύσαντες* deleted by Kiessling.

αὐτοῖς, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Σίλα, μεστὴ δ' ἐστὶν ὕλης εἰς οἰκοδομάς τε καὶ ναυπηγίας καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν εὐθέτου· πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάτη πέφυκεν οὐρανομήκης ἐν αὐτῇ, πολλὴ δὲ αἴγειρος, πολλὴ δὲ πίειρα πεύκη ὀξύη τε καὶ πίτυς καὶ φηγὸς ἀμφιλαφὴς καὶ μελίαι ταῖς διαρρεούσαις λιβάσι πιαινόμεναι, καὶ πᾶσα ἄλλη βαθεῖα συνυφαινομένη[1] τοῖς κλάδοις ὕλη σκιερὸν ἀποτελοῦσα δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας τὸ ὄρος.

2 (6) Ἐξ ἧς ἡ μὲν ἔγγιστα θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν φυομένη τμηθεῖσα τὴν ἀπὸ ῥίζης τομὴν ὁλόκληρος ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας τοὺς ἔγγιστα κατάγεται, πάσῃ διαρκὴς Ἰταλίᾳ πρός τε τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν κατασκευάς· ἡ δὲ ἄνω θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν πρόσω κορμασθεῖσα κατὰ μέρη κώπας τε παρέχει καὶ κοντοὺς καὶ ὅπλα[2] παντοῖα καὶ σκεύη τὰ κατοικίδια, φοράδην ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κομιζομένη· ἡ δὲ πλείστη καὶ πιοτάτη πιττουργεῖται καὶ παρέχει πασῶν ὧν ἴσμεν ἡμεῖς εὐωδεστάτην τε καὶ γλυκυτάτην τὴν καλουμένην Βρεττίαν πίτταν· ἀφ' ἧς μεγάλας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῆμος καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν μισθώσεων λαμβάνει προσόδους. *Ambr.*

XVI. (20, 7) Ἐγένετο δευτέρα ἐπανάστασις ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ῥηγίνων ὑπὸ τῆς καταλειφθείσης[3] αὐτόθι Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ συμμαχικῆς φρουρᾶς, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν σφαγαί τε[4] πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ φυγαί. τούτους τιμωρησόμενος τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἄτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Γάιος Γενύκιος ἐξήγαγε τὴν στρατιάν· γενόμενος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς Ῥηγίνων μὲν τοῖς φυγάσι ἀπέδωκε τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν, τοὺς

[1] Kiessling : *συμφαινομένη* Q, *συμφυομένη* Struve.

of their mountainous district, called Sila, which is full of timber suitable for the building of houses and ships and every other kind of construction. For much fir grows there, towering to the sky, much black poplar, much pitch pine, beech, stone pine, wide-spreading oak, ash trees enriched by the streams flowing through their midst, and every other kind of tree with densely-intertwined branches that keep the mountain in shadow throughout the whole day.

(6) Of this timber, that which grows nearest the sea and rivers is felled at the root and taken down in full lengths to the nearest harbours, sufficient in quantity to serve all Italy for shipbuilding and the construction of houses. That which grows inland from the sea and remote from rivers is cut up in sections for the making of oars, poles and all kinds of domestic implements and equipment, and is carried out on men's shoulders. But the largest and most resinous part of the timber is made into pitch, furnishing the most fragrant and sweetest pitch known to us, the kind called Bruttian, from the farming out of which the Roman people receive large revenues every year.

XVI. (20, 7) There was a second uprising in Rhegium, on the part of the garrison of Romans and allies which had been left there, and it resulted in the slaying and exile of many persons. To punish these rebels one of the consuls, Gaius Genucius, led out the army. After becoming master of the city, he restored their possessions to the keeping of the Rhegian exiles, and arresting those who had made the

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[2] Struve : ὅπλων Q.
[3] Mai : καταληφθείσης Q.
[4] καὶ after τε deleted by Mai.

δὲ ἐπιθεμένους τῇ πόλει συλλαβὼν δεσμίους εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπήγαγεν· ἐφ' οἷς οὕτως ὠργίσθη καὶ ἠγανάκτησεν ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὥστε μηδεμίαν γνώμην ἐπιεικῆ γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάσαις ταῖς φυλαῖς ἁπάντων[1] τῶν ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κακούργοις τεταγμένον ὑπὸ τῶν
2 νόμων καταψηφισθῆναι θάνατον. (8) κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας δόγματος πάνταλοί τε κατεπάγησαν ἐν τῇ[2] ἀγορᾷ, καὶ παραγόμενοι κατὰ τριακοσίους ἄνδρας, περιηγμένοι τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ὀπίσω προσεδοῦντο τοῖς παττάλοις γυμνοί· ἔπειτα μάστιξιν αἰκισθέντες ἁπάντων ὁρώντων ἀπεκόπτοντο τῷ πελέκει τοὺς ὑπὸ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς νωτιαίους τένοντας· καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἕτεροι τριακόσιοι, καὶ αὖθις ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι διεφθάρησαν, οἱ σύμπαντες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἔτυχον, ἀλλ' ἑλκυσθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς ἀναπεπταμένον τι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίον ὑπὸ οἰωνῶν καὶ κυνῶν διεφορήθησαν. *Ambr.*

XVII. (20, 9) Τὸ ἄπορον πλῆθος, ᾧ[3] καλῶν καὶ δικαίων φροντὶς ἦν οὐδεμία, παρακρουσθὲν ὑπὸ Σαυνίτου τινὸς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνέρχεται. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἄγραυλον καὶ †πλείονα[4] τὸν βίον εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πλεῖον ἤδη καὶ ἀξιόμαχον ἐδόκει γεγονέναι, πόλιν ἐχυρὰν καταλαμβάνεται, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενον ἐληίζετο πᾶσαν τὴν κύκλῳ χώραν.
2 ἐπὶ τούτους ἐξήγαγον στρατιὰν οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ οὐ πολλῇ σὺν πραγματείᾳ τὴν πόλιν αἱρησάμενοι τοὺς

[1] ἁπάντων Jacoby, δὴ ἁπάντων Struve : διὰ πάντων Q.
[2] τῇ added by Struve.
[3] ᾧ added by Visconti.

attack upon the city, he took them back in chains to Rome. The senate and the people were so enraged and indignant at them that no moderate sentiment was expressed concerning them, but by the vote of all the tribes sentence was passed against all the accused that they should die in the manner prescribed by the laws for malefactors. (8) When the decree concerning their punishment had been ratified, stakes were fixed in the Forum and the men, being brought forward three hundred at one time, were bound naked to the stakes, with their elbows bent behind them. Then, after they had been scourged with whips in the sight of all, the back tendons of their necks were cut with an axe. After them another three hundred were destroyed, and then other groups of like size, a total of forty-five hundred in all. And they did not even receive burial, but were dragged out of the Forum into an open space before the city, where they were torn asunder by birds and dogs.

XVII. (20, 9) The multitude of the needy, who had no thought for what was honourable and just, flocked together, misled by a certain Samnite. And at first they led a life of hardship [1] in the open upon the mountains ; but when at length they seemed to have become more numerous and to be adequate for battle, they seized a strong city and with that as their base plundered all the country round about. Against these men the consuls led forth an army, and having without much difficulty taken their city,

[1] The adjective modifying " life " is corrupted in the MS. and the correct reading is a matter of pure conjecture. The translation follows Jacoby's reading.

[4] *πλείονα* Q : *μείονα* Struve, *λιτὸν* Kiessling, *ἀλήμονα* M. Haupt, *πλάνητα* Hertlein, *ὑπαίθριον* Naber, *κακόπαθον* Jacoby.

μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰκισάμενοι ῥάβδοις ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐλαφυροπώλησαν. ἔτυχε τῷ πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ πεπραμένη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δορικτήτων ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὸ πεσὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἀργύριον διῃρημένον τοῖς πολίταις. *Ambr.*

they scourged with rods and put to death the authors of the revolt and sold the rest as booty. It chanced that the land had been sold the previous year along with the other conquests of the spear, and the money realized from its price had been divided among the citizens.

GENERAL INDEX

Numbers refer to volume and page ; volume numbers are as a rule repeated only where their omission might cause confusion. To facilitate identification of the various Roman names, the date of at least one important magistracy held is added in parenthesis. All dates are B.C., and are those of the ordinary chronology (Varro's) rather than those of Dionysius, which are regularly two years later, up to the time of the decemvirate (see Introd. to Vol. I, p. xxix).

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